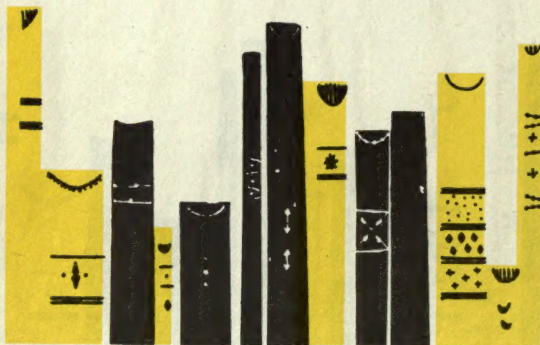


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THE NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW
NO. 10

THE NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

EDITORS

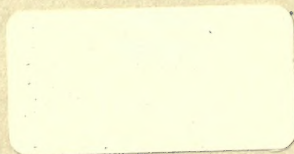
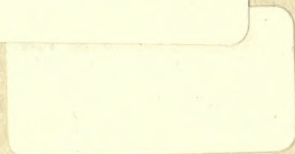
LANSING B. BLOOM
PAUL A. F. WALTER

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THE MUSEUM BUILDINGS

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. I

January, 1926

No. 1

NEW MEXICO IN THE GREAT WAR

I The Breaking of the Storm

The winter months of 1916-1917 marked the lull before that storm which was to involve the United States in its violence and destructiveness.

No part of the United States was farther removed from the storm center than was the State of New Mexico. A great inland commonwealth on the watershed of the continent, the isolation of three centuries still obtained in various respects, -a protecting isolation to which to cling, in the opinion of some perhaps; certainly an isolation to be overcome if New Mexico was to share on a par with her sister states in carrying the Great War to a finish and in making the world safe for democracy.

What New Mexico did to help meet the storm, in mobilizing all her resources and in sending forth her sons to battle, is to be set forth in subsequent chapters, and it may safely be left to the judgment of the reader to say whether New Mexico did her part adequately and generously.

But before any consideration of the civilian and military activities of New Mexico, it will be well to glance briefly at the situation which had developed in Europe by the winter of 1916-1917 and to review the events which had, by then, strained our relations with Germany to the breaking-point. And we shall also see that when the break came, New Mexico, inland state though she was, responded to the president's call as promptly as any part of the Union.

In Europe, after two and a half years of ebb and flow in the fortunes of war a casting-up of the whole situation seemed to indicate a virtual deadlock between the central powers and the entente allies. As winter settled down, Falkenhayn and Mackensen with their armies of Huns were continuing their devastation of Roumania northwards toward the Danube River, but on all other fronts the gains and losses were relatively insignificant and appeared to have in them no promise of anything better than a stand-off. To those who appreciated the principles of justice and freedom which were at issue, to those who pondered on the awful toll of blood and sorrow already exacted from crucified peoples and a suffering world, such a conclusion of the war was intolerable even in thought. Yet at this time apparently the only alternative from a continuance of the terrible struggle was a peace which would have left Germany dominant in central Europe, a menace to the whole liberty-loving world.

That Germany would, at this time, gladly have welcomed such a settlement became apparent on December 12, 1916, when the German kaiser proposed to the hostile powers that they enter on "a peace conference." Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, in a speech before the reichstag announcing this action of the kaiser, boasted of "the glorious deeds" of German arms and in a thinly veiled threat gave warning of what would follow in case the German proposal to confer were not acceded to. Said he: "If our enemies decline to end the war, if they wish to take upon themselves the world's heavy burden of all these terrors which hereafter will follow, then even in the least and smallest homes every German heart will burn in sacred wrath (sic) against our enemies who are unwilling to stop human slaughter, in order that their plans of conquest and annihilation may continue." Many and more explicit warnings reached the United States government that if the German peace move proved abortive, the submarines were to be unleashed for unrestricted and ruthless war upon all commerce.

It is well to remember that, coincident with this peace move, Germany was issuing her apology in defense of her wholesale deportation of Belgian workmen, an outrage which had raised to a new pitch the wrath of the allied world and protest against which had been formally registered by the United States government.

But what aroused the United States most directly was Germany's use of her submarines. As Germany violated repeatedly all accepted principles of international law, the position of our nation as a neutral power had become increasingly difficult. From the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, our controversy over this matter had grown more and more acute, and up to the issuing of Germany's peace note nearly 200 American lives had been sacrificed by the German submarines. Nor were outrages of this character mitigated by the papers of Wolf von Igel, seized in New York by secret service men on April 26, 1916, which revealed German machinations within the United States and explained numerous outrages which had occurred throughout the country, outrages in which the German embassy itself was found to be directly implicated.

In view of these facts, it is not strange that public opinion in this country, as well as in the allied countries, realized that such a peace as Germany proposed would leave the world in for worse situation than when the war began and that it would in effect be a German victory. The allied world had good reason to become utterly sceptical of German honor and consequently of any German overtures, and they were therefore determined to see the war through, to a settlement which should carry with it "adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future."

Nor is it strange that the new premier of Great Britain, David Lloyd-George, announced on December 19th to the house of commons that the first act of his administration had been to reject the proposal of the central powers for "a peace

conference." He announced that the allies separately had concluded to reject it, although they had exchange views informally and would within a few days present a joint reply. A comment on Lloyd-George's speech appeared in the *Kreuz Zeitung* which indicated the alternative which Germany had in mind, even while holding out her blood-stained olive branch: "We have learned that our enemies do not want peace but war to the knife, so we must abandon all considerations and grasp all the means of war at our disposal."

Such in brief was the situation as reported in the dispatches of December 20, 1916. On the following day the world was startled by the news that President Wilson had issued an appeal to all the belligerents that they discuss terms of peace and that each nation announce openly just what it was fighting for. The president had done this on his own initiative, independently of the various suggestions which had emanated from Berlin or from any other quarter, and he asked that his request be considered entirely on its own merits. His note was in effect an invitation to the hostile powers to compare their views as to the terms fundamental to any peace settlement and it was issued in the hope that such an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference by giving definiteness to the announced aims and demands of the respective nations. His request seemed a reasonable one because of the similarity in some respects in the demands of the hostile powers, in so far as these had been declared.

Our federal administration evidently realized that our nation might be compelled to give up its attitude of careful neutrality and to take an active part in reestablishing peace in the world. As President Wilson said at Topeka on February 2, 1916, "We are not going to invade any nation's right. But suppose, my fellowcountrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then?--- I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy---daily increase in number and intricacy and in danger, and I should be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters

with the utmost candor, and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do."

On May 25, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace the president outlined the main principles on which a stable peace must rest, principles which, if accepted, meant that the United States must assume the responsibilities of a world power. It was a new and significant note in our foreign policy which he sounded. "So sincerely do we believe these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation." The Sussex outrage had occurred just two months before this address; the von Igel papers had been seized in April. These and other recent events had shown up Germany in such a way that President Wilson's views, as set forth in this address, were very generally and emphatically endorsed throughout the nation.

The concessions yielded by the German government after the Sussex affair seemed for some months to have been made in good faith, but in October eight Americans were lost in the sinking of the *Marina*, and on December 14th the *Russian* was sunk with the loss of seventeen of our citizens. In view of all the evidence which had been accumulating on the criminal activities and intrigues of Germany against the United States, a statement given out by Secretary Lansing on December 21st, explanatory of the president's note, is interesting:

"The reasons for sending of the note were as follows:

"It isn't our material interest we had in mind when the note was sent but more and more our own rights are becoming involved by the belligerents on both sides so that the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

"I mean by that, that we are drawing nearer the verge of war ourselves and, therefore, we are entitled to know exactly what each belligerent seeks in order that we may regulate our conduct in the future.

"No nation has been sounded. No consideration of the German overtures or of the speech of Lloyd-George was taken into account in the formulation of the document. The only thing the overtures did was to delay it a few days. It was not decided to send it until Monday. Of course, the difficulties that face the president were that it might be construed as a movement toward peace and in aid of the German overtures. He specifically denies that that was the fact in the document itself."

The suggestion carried by this statement that the United States might shortly be drawn into war caused consternation in diplomatic circles and an attempt was made, with partial success, to modify its effect by a second statement issued the next morning; but as one looks back with a knowledge of later developments he realizes that our federal administration was, in a sense, clearing the decks for action, should "action" prove necessary. The note was a step consistent with the president's policy to keep the United States out of the war if this could be done with honor, yet it was a step consciously taken towards "the verge of war."

Germany's reply to the note was evasive, for it declined to state her terms for peace; and in view of the refusal of the allies to discuss the subject unless the central powers would first disclose the terms on which they would end the war, any prospect of peace was thus made impossible. As Lloyd-George put it, they did not propose to put their neck in a noose of which Germany held the rope-end. Germany wanted an old-style "conference", and this the allies would not agree to without first having a "complete guarantee against Prussian militarism again disturbing the peace of Europe" and such guarantee must be more binding than a treaty which might be cast aside as a mere "scrap of paper."

The allies considered Germany's peace note as insincere and not a peace offer so much as a war maneuver, and on December 30th their formal reply so stated. Their answer reviewed the Belgian invasion, admitted by the German chancellor on

August 4, 1914, to have been "an injustice contrary to the law of nations", and remarked that "at this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery."

Thus the year 1916 drew to a close, with all prospect of peace receding into the unknown future beyond many a blood-drenched battlefield. Along that path alone lay any surety of genuine peace and therefore in that path the allies would keep their feet. As the Albuquerque Morning Journal of January 1, 1917, well said, "It was easy for Berlin to launch a war on the first day of August, 1914.... but making peace at the end of 29 months of desperate bloodshed was quite a different matter. Russia, France and Great Britain had to go to war, but the time has not come when they have to make peace."

With the opening of the year 1917, the situation for the United States drew rapidly to the breaking-point. The dispatches which came out of Germany by "wireless to the Associated Press, via Sayville" showed that government deliberately preparing to put her threats into operation. Ludendorff's universal service law was in force; stupendous quantities of amunitions were being assembled; many thousands of guns were being turned out every week. In a word, the German government was resolved to drive to a finish the storm of destruction which it had loosed, and now the storm was to smite the United States and other neutral countries as well as the avowed enemies of Germany.

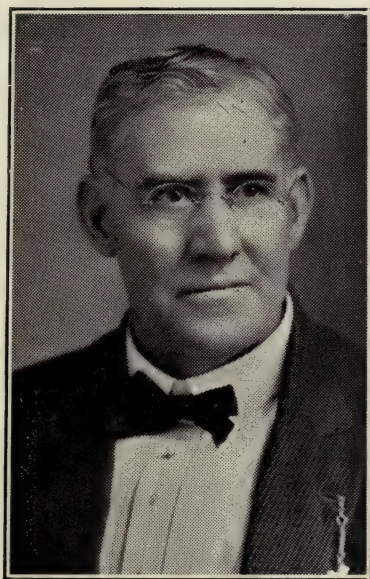
That the United States was awake to the impending crisis was evident in the deliberations and enactments of congress during the winter session. Congress had hardly convened after the holiday recess when Senator Lodge created a sensation by openly referring to the German ambassador, von Bernstorff, when attacking him for giving out an interview on the president's peace note. The \$800,000,000 military budget for 1918, the matter of oil lands for the navy, machine-guns, motorcycles, armored tanks, and other national defense

measures were subjects which had a generous share of congressional attention. Much time was given to hearings on, and discussion of, the federalized national guard and considerable support developed for universal military training. The Army Act which later embodied this principle was not passed until May 18th, during the first session of the War Congress, but the exhaustive consideration given to the matter during the winter session was preparatory to the later action and the time was by no means lost.

Such in brief survey were the crowding events which heralded to the people of the United States the approaching storm. Citizens of New Mexico who read the daily dispatches had a fair knowledge of the trend of affairs, but it can hardly be said that the people as a whole realized that war with Germany was almost upon us. For the present, therefore, state affairs loomed larger for New Mexico than did any world crisis.

This New Year's Day in New Mexico marked the beginning of a new state administration. The governor-elect to succeed Governor MacDonald was Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca, descendant of the famous Spanish explorer of four centuries before. De Baca had served as lieutenant-governor from the beginning of statehood and, as presiding officer of the state senate through three sessions, had set a record for dignified, able, and impartial administration.

But Mr. De Baca was destined never to enter the executive office nor even to step inside the executive mansion as governor of the state. Assailed by a serious malady, premonitions of which were recognized even at the time of the fall campaign, Mr. De Baca put up a brave fight and increased the high esteem in which he was already held throughout the state. He had gone in November to a hospital in Los Angeles and great anxiety had been felt lest he could not return for the inauguration. But he made the journey with an attendant nurse and, in a room at St. Vincent's Sanitarium, took the oath of office on New Year's Day in the presence of a few officials and close friends.



EZEQUIEL CABEZA DE BACA

Washington E. Lindsey, who had been elected to the office of lieutenant-governor, expressed the regard which Governor de Baca had won for himself by his brave fight against disease when, on this occasion, he grasped de Baca's hand and said: "My name is Lindsey. I want to assure you of my heartiest cooperation and assistance in the discharge of the duties of your high office." With equal warmth Governor de Baca replied, "Thank you, governor. You also will have my cordial support in your own office."

The message which Governor de Baca sent to the legislature on January 9th was commendable for the matters on which he asked action. Among these were an inheritance tax, a tax on mining properties, a budget system, a new election law providing for secret ballot, and a better jury system. In dignified, conservative, sincere, and business-like manner he invited the cooperation of the legislature in the program which he outlined. Bills along the lines indicated were introduced but none of the measures were carried through until after his death.

One incident occurred, however, during de Baca's brief tenure of office which may well be recorded as marking the first formal expression from New Mexico relating to the war. It was occasioned by the crisis which was at last reached when the German government informed our administration on January 31st that from the following day the submarines would attack all ships sailing for allied ports. To such a challenge only one course was possible. On February 3rd the German ambassador was handed his passports and President Wilson announced to congress the complete severance of our relations with Germany. It was on the same day, in answer to inquiries sent out by the New York World, that Governor de Baca sent the following wire:

"Santa Fe, New Mexico, Feb. 3, 1917

"**The World**, New York, N. Y.

"New Mexico will stand loyally behind the president and hold up his hands. We endorse the action already taken. We

believe the avenues of trade on the high seas should be kept open to neutral commerce in accordance with the law of nations and that the armed force of the United States should be used for that purpose, if necessary.

E. C. de Baca,
governor of New Mexico"

With the death of Ezequiel C. de Baca on February 18th, Washington E. Lindsey succeeded to the office of governor, and as his tenure was practically coterminus with the active period of the war, he may well be styled "the war executive."

Just a week after his inauguration, the Laconia was sunk with the loss of eight American lives, and President Wilson asked congress to take the next step towards open conflict by authorizing "armed neutrality." It was characteristic of Senator A. B. Fall of New Mexico, and to his credit and that of his state, that he immediately introduced a resolution authorizing the president to use all the armed forces of the country in protecting its right.

In his inaugural address a few days later, President Wilson declared that there could now be no turning back from the tragic events of the last thirty months which had brought upon Americans a new responsibility as citizens of the world. He declared anew that America must stand for peace, for the stability and self-government of free peoples, and that the seas must be free to all.

Nevertheless, there was some opposition to "armed neutrality" until the federal administration gave out the text of a German note dated January 19th and addressed by the foreign minister Zimmermann to the German minister in Mexico. This note, instigating an attack by Mexico upon the United States even while conducting peace negotiations with us, revealed such treachery as to be convincing proof that sooner or later we must have a definite settlement with this criminal among nations. Accordingly, on March 12th, after Ambassador Gerard had safely reached home and reported, our government issued orders to place armed guards on our

merchant ships. Then at intervals of a few days each, came in reports of other sinkings: On March 16th the *Vilgilancia* went down with the loss of 5 Americans; two days later, the *City of Memphis* and the *Illinois*, with a loss of 17; the *Healdton* was sunk on the 21st and 7 Americans perished; and on April 1st the *Aztec* went down with 28 more. As officially stated, "In all, up to our declaration of war, 226 Americans, many of them women and children, had lost their lives by the action of German submarines, and in most instances without the faintest color of international right."

The winter session of the New Mexico legislature had ended on the 10th of March, before the federal administration had decided upon "armed neutrality", but our citizens showed in various ways that the national situation was being watched with keen interest and with that cordial sympathy which Governor de Baca had voiced. On March 10th, the Santa Fe chamber of commerce affirmed its patriotic support of the president in a set of emphatic resolutions, and similar action was taken by other organizations over the state. By the middle of March, the Red Cross was energetically engaged in recruiting new members, and war-gardening was already well under way. Not the least interesting display of patriotism was the voting of a gold medal by the state legislature to General Pershing in appreciation of his services to the state, and its bestowal by Governor Lindsey at El Paso on March 19th.

Just as the national guard on the border was being mustered out of federal service came the first call from Washington for navy and army volunteers and recruiting stations were promptly opened in New Mexico. It was already recognized very generally, however, that some method of selective service must be formulated and put into operation, and it is therefore interesting to recall that, as early as March 26th, Governor Lindsey sent a wire to New York City in which he strongly favored action by the war congress, call-

ed to convene on April 2nd, which should provide for universal military training.

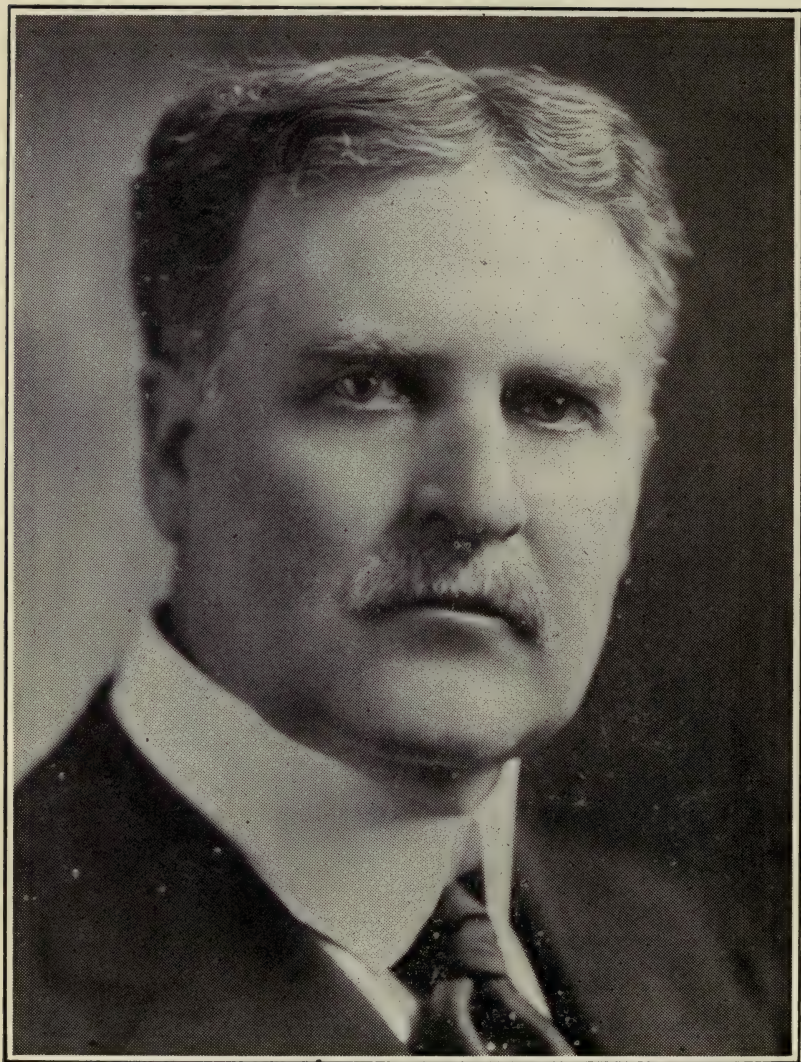
"Good Friday", 1917, will be a day long remembered in New Mexico, for on that day at last came the formal declaration of war on the German government. April 6, 1917, summoned New Mexico to the field of combat, both at the home-base and overseas, and nobly did she rise to the occasion and take up the gauge of battle, equally with her sister states. A special session of the state legislature was promptly called by Governor Lindsey and in the brief space of eight days measures were passed which were necessary to the proper carrying on of our part in the war.

Aside from appropriating the small sum of \$7,440 to cover the expenses of the special session, the legislature enacted and Governor Lindsey signed, five measures which were very largely to shape and guide the activities of New Mexico during the period of the war.

The Public Defense act appropriated \$750,000 for preparedness and defense, the money to be raised by the issuance and sale of certificates of indebtedness, and expended and disbursed solely under the direction of the governor. It created a state council of defense of nine members. It authorized a special county levy of not to exceed one mill in 1917 and 1918 for the repair and construction of highways. It empowered the governor to equip any portion of the national guard reserve up to a battalion as mounted infantry in case of emergency. It authorized the state treasurer to invest the permanent state funds in the certificates of indebtedness issued, and gave the governor authority to sell certificates to the federal reserve banks or to negotiate loans through them on the certificates as security.

Another act of the legislature accepted the provisions of the National Defense act and arranged for the drafting of men for the national guard.

A Third enactment provided for the further extension of



WASHINGTON E. LINDSEY

cooperative agricultural work and made possible the employment of an agricultural agent in every county.

A fourth bill passed accepted the provisions of the Smith-Hughes act for vocational education and appropriated \$15,000 annually for two years to meet a like appropriation from the federal government.

One other important measure was enacted which empowered the governor, for the purpose of giving aid to the national government or providing for public health, welfare, and safety in the state, to organize and employ all the resources of the state, whether of men, property, or instrumentalities.

Thus unreservedly, promptly, and wholeheartedly did the people of New Mexico, through their chosen representatives, throw themselves and all their resources into the Great War. The Sunshine State fears no storm.

Lansing B. Bloom.

II The War Executive

In every state the "War Governor" is of special interest -- his administration is more generally studied than those of other men of equal ability and success. There is no question but that the War Governor of New Mexico will be of special interest to the future historian. His ability and his fidelity to the interests of the State and Nation will rank him among the outstanding governors.

Every biography is of interest to two classes -- the young and the experienced. Childhood and youth and their formative influences appeal to the young, while opinions and acts hold the attention of the mature.

The youth of Lincoln or of Garfield contained no more interesting elements of privation and no more evidence of surmounting difficulty than can be found in the life of Washington Ellsworth Lindsey, who was born December 20, 1862, in Belmont County, Ohio, on Capitana Creek, of a sturdy Scotch parentage.

Robert Lindsey, the founder of the family in America, was a horseshoer in Washington's Army, having enlisted from Maryland. His son Robert L. Lindsey emigrated from Virginia to Ohio, crossing the Alleghany Mountains in a wagon with a water tight bed which was used as a boat when the Ohio River was crossed. He settled on a branch of the Capitana Creek where he established a settlement that soon grew to a village. He was the owner of the saw mill, the flour mill, the blacksmith and the carpenter shops, and a general store. His son, Robert Washington Lindsey (father of the subject of this sketch) after he reached his maturity enlisted for the Mexican War, but peace was declared before he was ready for service. In the Civil War he was a recruiting officer. Throughout its entire history the family has been noted for its loyalty and its sturdy pioneer qualities.

Washington E. Lindsey was never away from the home community until twelve years of age, when he went to a nearby railway station to meet his father who had been at the county seat serving on the jury. He and the horses had never seen a train. The wagon road crossed a railroad a short distance from a tunnel. As the boy and horses approached the crossing a locomotive in all its grandeur and awe inspiring power emerged from the tunnel both boy and horses ran away. This was the beginning of his education in outside experiences.

He began his school career when seven years old in an eight cornered brick building. There were sixty pupils and the future governor was permitted to recite once a week. He attended this school for three or four months every year until he was seventeen when he entered Scio College, where the "One Study System" as in vogue. The student devoted himself exclusively to the study of mathematics until he had complete the required amount, then he took up the study of grammar and so on, until the course was finished. Professor Smith, by his close personal friendship, inspired the young country boy to continue his education until he was

graduated by the University of Michigan in the class of 1891 with the degree LL. B. He did post-graduate work under Henry Coates Adams in history and government. He was a student under John Dewey and a classmate of James R. Angell, now of Chicago University.

Upon graduation he opened a law office in Chicago, where he continued the practice of law until he came to New Mexico in 1900. After a brief stay in Roswell he settled in Portales June 20, 1900.

His first endeavor for community building was in writing a bill to create Roosevelt County and securing its passage through the territorial legislature. He was aided by Albert Bacon Fall, then a member of the council. The bill was introduced, passed through both houses of the legislature and signed by the governor in a single legislative day. He was appointed probate clerk of the new county by Governor Otero and from that time on, he has been a prominent factor in local and state interests. Although a republican, he was elected a member of the constitutional convention of 1910 by a constituency that was overwhelmingly democratic. He served as a member and as president of the board of education of Portales from 1913 to 1917.

Mr. Lindsey offered his services to his country during the Spanish-American War and was commissioned captain of Company L of a provisional division in Illinois, but the armistice was signed before his regiment was inducted into service.

At the republican convention of 1916 Mr. Lindsey was nominated as candidate for the office of lieutenant governor and at the November election he received a majority of the votes. He was sworn into office January 1, 1917, and presided over the senate from January 9th to February 19th, on which day he took the oath of office as governor to succeed E. C. de Baca who died in office.

Shortly after the adjournment of the regular session of the legislature came the declaration of war, and Governor

Lindsey called a special session of the members of the third legislature to meet on May 1, 1917. He read his message to both houses, in which he asked for wider powers and for the appointment of a war committee to aid in the recruiting of soldiers and in the production of additional food stuffs. He closed his message with the following words: "Let me therefore, in conclusion, urge that in this great crisis, in this even tragic time, we shall all, forgetting self and political bias, labor earnestly to serve most efficiently our state and our nation. This it seems to me, is our supreme privilege, as, no less, it is our supreme duty."

Governor Lindsey is justly proud of the services that he has rendered the state. His acts as "War Governor", his friendship to the movements in education, and his connection with state-wide Prohibition are his claims to a place in the history of the state. He issued various addresses and proclamations to the citizens of the state, among which "A First Lesson on the War", "Why the United States Entered the War", "An Educational Proclamation" (under date of Sixteenth Day of August), "Our Flag", "The Pinto Bean", are outstanding in patriotism and wisdom. "Our Flag" is the best product of his pen, having attracted wide attention, and it is worthy of a permanent place in this book.

Our Flag

" 'Tis the star spangled banner, oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

A flag may be described as a strip of cloth of a light fabric, varying in form and color, frequently bearing some emblematic design, and ordinarily displayed, affixed by one end to a staff, pole or rope. The most common use of flags is as emblems of nations.

The use of flags is of great antiquity. In the book, NUMBERS, of the Bible, we read, "Every man of the Children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their fathers' house."

Standards, ensigns, flags are what peoples and nations make them from generation to generation, from age to age.

The Totem of the North American Indian has no vital significance to us, but to him it is Standard, Ensign, Flag, Religion, History and Government.

The Star Spangled Banner--flag of the Republic of North America--OUR FLAG, had origin in a resolution of the Continental Congress, June 14th, 1777, and is the oldest National flag in existence. Its Union was declared as "thirteen stars, white in a field of blue, representing a new constellation, and thirteen bars, alternate red and white". The stars in OUR FLAG stand for the states of the Union. They were thirteen in the Revolution, thirty-five in the Civil War, forty-five in the war with Spain, and are now forty-eight.

Those stars, white in a field of blue, those bars, alternate red and white, are to you and to me, no more than what we make them. OUR FLAG is an affront to the traitor in the Nation. The seditious mock it, and cowards flee from it, but to the loyal citizen who knows our history and is acquainted with the heroic deeds of our fathers, OUR FLAG is the symbol of the power, the honor, the glory, the thought and the purpose of our people.

In the American Revolution, LIBERTY rocked in its cradle beneath the flaunting folds of OUR FLAG, and from then until now, that flag has waved in majestic silence over a Nation of conquerors--conquerors, not for conquest, not for subjugation, not even for indemnity -- but conquerors for justice, righteousness and truth. With those ideals emblazoned upon its folds, OUR FLAG has never yet been furled in defeat, nor trailed in the dust. Nor will it ever be.

For the sixth significant time, OUR FLAG is being proudly born aloft in battle line on earth and sea, and for the first time, high above the earth and deep beneath the sea. The ground and reach of all our other wars have been sectional and prescribed, but in this war, they are world wide, reaching up to heaven and down to hell. For us, they are the

glorification of liberty and the triumph of the power of right. For our enemies, they are the perpetuation of servitude and the enthronement of the power of might.

Rightly we glorify our fathers, who for justice and the preservation of the Union, have died beneath the folds of OUR FLAG from Lexington to Yorktown, from Balls' Bluff to Appomattox, but higher glory is reserved for us, if, in this world war, we prove worthy sons of noble sires by carrying OUR FLAG to the battlements of Berlin, there to uncrown the Hohenzollern and hamstring the Beast.

"And the star spangled banner in triumph shall wave
While the land of the free is the home of the brave."

W. E. Lindsey.

In a statement made by Governor Lindsey summing up his administration, the important events are so clearly set forth that it is deemed wise to let him speak for himself.

The illness of Governor E. C. de Baca hung like a pall over the members of the Third Legislature and little was accomplished during the early days of the Session. After his death the Legislature, realizing in spite of the general grief of the state, that the purpose for which they met must be accomplished, took up their work. "In the remaining twenty day period of the regular session, resolutions were adopted and laws enacted which went far to consummate the desires and hopes of the forward and upward looking people of the state.

"Among those, conspicuous for notation and remark, was that submitting to the will of the franchise of the state, Article XXIII, of the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture and importation of alcoholic liquors for sale, barter, or gift, from and after October 1st, 1918. The timeliness and wisdom of this action were conclusively established at the November, 1917, election in its adoption by a vote of approximately three for to one against.

"Other acts of that legislative session of far reaching consequence to the people of our state are that providing for a

secret ballot; a state budget; workmen's compensation; the consolidation of rural schools; the determination and investment of the state's permanent public lands fund, an act relating to public highways and bridges, and others.

"From the very hour when the congress of the government at Washington declared that the imperial German was carrying on war against the government of the United States of America, every available resource of power, both legislative and executive, in the state of New Mexico, has been freely and enthusiastically contributed to aid in the accomplishment of the will to win the war for the preservation of the nation and the rights of free governments and free peoples. The orders of the President as commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, in their application to this state, have been faithfully executed and the requirements of the general government, from the people of this state, have been more than met in every instance.

"Twenty-four days after the declaration of war, the legislature of the state assembled in special session and, in the brief period of eight days, enacted laws that enabled our people to pass at once from a status of profound industrial peace promotion to a status of universal war promotion. By Chapter Three of that session acts, the authority and exercise of plenary power, was not only freely conferred upon the state executive, but all necessary and required exercise thereof was demanded of him. By Chapter Four of that session acts, provisions for arming the state in its self defense were enacted; and Chapter Five thereof created the council of defense for the state and put at the disposal of the executive, war credit to the amount of \$750,000."

Immediately after the adjournment of the special session of the legislature, the Council of Defense was organized. The governor was in constant touch with all its splendid labors for the increase of foodstuffs, for the rapid and effective mobilization of men, for the encouragement of all the Liberty Loan and War Fund Drives.

Near the close of Governor Lindsey's administration it was reported that various soldiers at Camp Kearney and at Camp Cody were being discriminated against. At the bottom of this discrimination was the ignorance of the officers higher up of the officers who did come in contact with the splendid men from this state. Governor Lindsey went to Camp Kearney and protested that every man from New Mexico should receive proper treatment, no matter how inadequate his knowledge of the English language might be. After investigating the situation, Major General Strong wrote Governor Lindsey as follows: "I am glad to say that the Spanish Americans are now happily situated. When we began to arrange for transfers, much to our surprise and delight we found that commanding officers did not want to give them up. . . . I shall take a personal interest in looking after these men, who, from the fact that they cannot speak English, are at a disadvantage." One result of this visit was that schools of instruction in the English language were formed for those who could not speak the language. A similar change was effected by Governor Lindsey's visit to Camp Cody, in improving the condition of the volunteers and draftees who were being discriminated against because they could not speak the English language.

The last official act of Governor Lindsey which was of special importance was his trip to Washington for the purpose of securing compensation from the government for expenditures at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts and at the University for the training of soldiers in the Students' Army Training Corps, and also to interest the government in the reclamation of the Rio Grande Valley.

Governor Lindsey's administration was clean, patriotic, effective, and worthy of the great state of New Mexico.

Frank H. H. Roberts.

THE FIRST TERM OF THE AMERICAN COURT IN TAOS, NEW MEXICO.

Francis T. Cheetham

Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his monumental work on the History of the Western States, devotes two volumes to Popular Tribunals. He might have used the term "Vigilante Justice." He shows that in nearly all the western states, it took some years before the courts began to properly function. Judges and District Attorneys were chosen, took oaths of office and drew their salaries; but criminals went unpunished. The invariable rule is that when those, whose duty it is to enforce the law, utterly fail to do their duty for any considerable length of time and lawless men are permitted to disregard the law as a means of money gathering, the common people, when the breaking point is reached, rise up, take the law into their own hands and administer attempted justice without law. This is the experience of the ages.

An examination of the record of the First Term of the Circuit and District Courts for the Northern District of New Mexico, which convened at Taos, April 5, 1847, a copy of which record is hereto appended, discloses a remarkable achievement. And, while it took from two to ten years for the courts to begin to function properly in the other western commonwealths, this court established a record, probably never excelled in the history of the world, for the dispatch and sound discretion exercised in the transaction of the business then before the court.

As to the personnel of this Court, it will readily be seen that it was a Trader's and Trapper's Court. Don Carlos Beaubien, the presiding judge, was a native of Canada of French extraction, who came to New Mexico in 1823, and settled in Taos; and while what he did not know about the law would fill volumes, yet he was a man of intelligence and

action. That his reasoning faculties were good is well shown in the argument he advanced against Padre Martinez in his answer to the learned padre's protest against Beaubien's petition for the land grant, since known as the Maxwell Land Grant. Joab Houghton was a native of New York, a college man and a civil engineer by profession. He came to New Mexico in November, 1843, and located in Santa Fe. He had succeeded Manuel Alvarez as U. S. Consul at Santa Fe before the Mexican War. When Gen. Kearney organized the courts of the provisional Territory, he appointed Houghton, an American, Chief justice, and Charles Beaubien, a Frenchman, and Antonio J. Otero, of Spanish blood, as associate justices. Frank P. Blair, the United States attorney was probably the only lawyer present and he had just lately been admitted to practice in his native state. On account of ill health he had come west and stopped for some months at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, and when the Mexican War started he came in with the army. Of the nineteen men who composed the grand jury, four were Americans. George Bent the foreman was a brother of the slain governor. James S. Barry and Joseph M. Graham were sturdy mountain-men and Elliott Lee was a relative of Stephen Louis Lee, late Sheriff of the County. The venire of the petit jury contains some interesting names indeed. On this list we find such men as Lucien Maxwell, who had been one of Fremont's men of the first and second expeditions of the Pathfinder. Joseph Paulding was a noted trapper who had migrated to California in 1832 and had constructed the first billiard table on the coast. Bautiste Charleyfoe had trapped all the way from the Saskatchewan to the Gila and came near losing his scalp in the Snake country. Charles Town was likewise one of Fremont's men and was well known from the Sweetwater to the Gila. Sir William Stuart knew him on Lewis' Fork and says he wrote a song, the last two lines of which ran:—

“The rock rushed down with a mighty din,
And broke a gun and a Frenchman's shin.”

Antonio Leroux was a noted scout and guide. Benjamin Day was one of Ewing Young's trappers back in the 'twenties and had accompanied the latter to California in 1831. Asa Estis was probably of the family of Geo. H. Estes, who, with others had petitioned in 1884 for a grant on the Sapello, where Ft. Union was afterwards established. Charles Roubidoux was also a noted scout and guide to General Kearney and others, and afterwards led the Sitgreaves Expedition. He belonged to that noted family of our traders who founded St. Joseph, Mo., and Riverside, Cal., and who maintained two forts in the mountain country. A number of the jurors of Spanish blood had long been trappers. Their contempt for the ordinary type of Missouri Volunteer is well shown in the following lines taken from Louis H. Garrard's book entitled "Wash-to-yah, or the Taos Trail," published in 1850,—if a digression may be indulged, for it throws an interesting side light on the scene. Garrard visited the Taos "carcel" or prison on April 9th, 1847, the day of the first judicial hanging. In part he says:—

"Entering a portal, with a nod to the sentinel on duty, we found ourselves in a court. In a room fronting this, was a ragged, ill-looking pelado, conversing with a miserably-dressed old woman—his mother—and discussing greenish-blue tortillas, and chile colorado, under the espionage of a slouching attired, long-haired, dirty and awkward volunteer, who to judge by his outward show, was no credit to his corps, or silver-gilt eagle buttons. He leaned in a most unsoldierlike position against the doorframe, and on our near approach, drew his feet somewhat closer to perpendicular, accosting us with—'Well, strangers! how are ye?'

'Quite well, thank you,' replied one of us.

"Them's great briches of yourn," broke in he, abruptly, after eyeing my fringed buckskins for some moments, 'Whar'd they riginate—SantyFee? Beats linsey-woolsey all holler, down to Galaway county.'

'Santa Fé,!' replied Hatcher, disgusted with the fellow's simplicity, 'Why hoss, them's Californy!'

'Calyforny! My oh! let's look at them, stranger. Calyforny! way over yonder!' half way soliloquising, and staring me doubtingly, with a side twist to his head, and a knowing squint from his porcine eyes, 'now yon don't mean to say, you was in them briches when they was in Calyforny!'

'Him?' interrupted Hatcher, wishing to astonish the man, 'that boy's been everywhar. He's stole more mule flesh from the Spaniards, and raised more Injun har than you could tuck in your belt in a week.'

'How raise Injun hair? like we raise corn and hemp to Callaway County or jest like we raise hogs and y'oxens.'

'Oh! you darned fool,' retorted Louy Simonds, 'a long ways the greenest Ned we see yet, No!' rejoined he imperatively, 'when an Injun's a gone beaver we take a knife like this,' pulling out his long scalp blade, which motion caused the man to open his eyes, 'ketch hold of the top knot and rip skin and all rite off, quicker an' a goat could jump.'

'What's a gone beaver, stranger?' again spoke up our verdant quariest.

'Why, whar was you brung up, not to know the **meanin'** of sich terms-we'd show you round fur a curiosity up in the mountains- let's go, fellers.'

We started to another part of the jail, but were stopped by a final question from our brave volunteer to Hatcher- 'Stranger! what mout your name be, ef I mout be so free-like?'

'Well, hos!' returned the questioned, 'my name **mout** be Bill Williams, or it mout be Rube Herring, or it mout be John Smith, or it **mout** be Jim Beckwith, but this buffler's called John L. Hatcher, to rendevoo. Wagh!''

Garrard left behind the most complete narrative of the proceedings of this court, outside its own record. He revolted at the idea of the hanging of a man for high treason. No doubt he was right, but the mountainmen evidently thought

that Polo Salazar deserved hanging on general principles, for they did not hesitate to acquit the next man charged with the same offense. Garrard, at the time, was a mere boy scarcely eighteen years of age and he had not learned the code of the mountainmen, which required an eye for an eye and a tooth for tooth. Moreover he allows his poetic inclination to lead him into some errors, as to the facts, as will appear from the court record; but as a whole his narrative is reliable and intensely interesting and as a literary effort, it is a classic.

This Court was in session fifteen working days, during which time seventeen men were indicted for murder, fifteen of whom were found guilty and two not guilty, by the jury. Five men were indicted for high treason, one of whom was convicted, one acquitted by the jury and three went out on a nolle. Seventeen were indicted for larceny of whom six were convicted, three found not guilty, seven discharged by a nolle prosque and one case appears to have been continued for the term. In no instance was a plea of guilty entered. Every man "put himself on the country!" There was no talk about the law's delays here, for this court convicted a man of murder, for each and every working day of the term. Appeals were not much in favor in this court, for each homicide convict was hanged before a transcript could have been written. Before this Court did its work, the Taos country had been a hotbed of revolution. Practically every insurrection in Northern Mexico had had its inception at this place. But since the fifth of April, 1847, revolution has not been popular in the Valley of Taos.

The record of the Court is as follows:—

Be it remembered that on this Fifth day of April in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred forty seven. The Honorable District Court of the Territory of New Mexico, convened in pursuant to an order from the judge thereof, at Don Fernandez de Taos, in said Territory. The Honorable Charles Beaubien presiding Judge assisted by the Honorable Joab Houghton, Judge of the Central District.

The Marshall proclaimed the Court opened in due form and ready for the transaction of business, the Marshall returned the venire for the Grand Jury, with the names, George Bent, James S. Barry, Joseph M. Graham, Antonio Ortiz, Jose Gregory Martinez, Miguel Sanchez, Elliot Lee, Mariano Martin, Matias Vigil, Gabriel Vigil, Santiago Martinez, Ventura Martinez, Jose Cordoval, Felipe Romero, Ramonde Cordoval, Antonio Medina, Jose Angel Vigil, Antonio Jose Bingo, Jean Bennette Valdez.

The Court organized the grand jury by appointing George Bent as foreman, who took the necessary obligation, and the others took the oath of Grand Jurors, when the Court charged the said Grand Jury in relation to the duties involved upon them as Grand Jurors as aforesaid, after which they retired, when the Court adjourned until tomorrow morning at nine O'clock, previous to which Mr. Theodore Wheaton presented his Commission from the acting Governor of the Territory of his appointment as Circuit Attorney for the Northern District of the Territory of New Mexico, the Court received said commission and ordered it to be filed.

Robert Carey

Approved

Clerk

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernando de Taos, April 6, 1847.

"The Court opened pursuant to adjournment. The Grand Jury appeared and all answered to their names, when they presented several Bills of Indictment, among whome were the, Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for Murder.

Jose Manuel Garcia.

And now on this day F. P. Blair, Esq., appears on behalf of said Territory and is prepared for trial. The Council for the defendant not being ready ask the Court to adjourn until the afternoon. Whereupon the Court grants said request and adjourns accordingly. The Court meets, the parties appearing, when the defendant pleads not guilty to the charge, whereupon a jury is called and sworn consisting George Long, Lucian Maxwell, Joseph Play, Charles Ortibus, Antonio Dewitt, Peter Joseph, Benjamin Day, Joseph Paulding, Ed-mong Chadwick Charles Town, Bautiste Charleyfoe and Henry Katz, the evidence being submitted to them they return the following verdict.

We the Jury find the defendant Guilty as charged in the Indictment. It is therefore considered and adjudged by the Court that the said defendant is guilty as charged, and that he be taken to the jail, from whence he came and there remain until the sentence of death be passed upon him the said defendant after which the Court adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9 O'clock.

Robert Carey
Clerk.

Approve
Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 7, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment, the Grand Jury appeared and answered to their names, the Prisoner Jose Manuel Garcia who had on the previous day been convicted of Murder was brought into Court, when the sentence of death was passed upon him, to-wit:

That on Friday next the 9th Inst. he be taken from the Jail of said County to the place of execution and between the hours of ten O'clock in the forenoon and two o'clock in the afternoon and hang him said Jose Manuel Garcia by the neck until he is dead.

Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for Murder.

Pedro Lucero, Manuel Romero,

Juan Ramon Trujillo, Isidor Romero.

And now on this day the parties appear and are ready for trial, the said defendants plead not Guilty to the Charges as set forth in said Indictment, whereupon a jury is called, empaneled and sworn, to-wit: Juan Miguel Baca, Julian Lucero, William LeBlanc, Henry Katz, Bautiste Charleyfoe, Robert Fisher, Manuel Lafore, Charles Ortibus, Elijah Ness, Peter Joseph, C. L. Courrier, Jose Maria Valdez. The Council for the defendants submit a plea to quash said Indictment, the Court after due consideration overrules said plea and the trial proceeded, the Evidence having been submitted the jury returned the following verdict: We the Jury find named defendants Guilty as Charged in the Indictment.

It is therefore considered and adjudged by the Court that the said Defendants be taken from the place of their confinement, on Friday next the 9th Inst. to the place of Execution and between the hours of ten o'clock of the forenoon

and two o'clock of the afternoon hang them by the neck until they are dead.

Aprove:

Charles Beaubien.

Robery Carey.
Clerk.

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 7th 1847.

The United States District Court open in the regular form, the same Judge presiding. The Grand Jury appeared and answered to their names and presented a Bill of Indictment.

United States

vs

Indictment for High Treason

Polo Salizar.

And on this day Comes the U. S. District Attorney, F. P. Blair, Esq. and the Defendant with his Council, who pleads Not Guilty to the Charge as set forth in the Indictment. Whereupon a Jury is called empaneled and sworn, to-wit: Juan Miguel Baca, William Le Blac, Henry Katz, Baptiste Charleyfoe, Robert Fisher, Manuel Lafore, Charles Ortibus, Elijah Ness, Peter Joseph, C. L. Corrier and Jose Manuel Valdez.

The evidence being submitted to the Jury, they returned the following verdict: we the Jury find the Defendant Guilty as charged in the Indictment. Robert Fisher, Foreman. Whereupon it-Considered and Adjudged by the Court that the said Defendant - the penalties of law and that he be taken to the Jail and there remain until the sentence of Death be passed upon him after which the Court adjourned to tommorrow Morning at nine o'clock.

Aprove

Charles Beaubien.

Robert Carey
Clerk.

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 8th 1847.

The Circuit Court met pursuant to adjournment, the Grand Jury appeared and answered to their names. The Prisoner Polo Salazar who was convicted of High Treason was brought into Court, when the Sentence of Death was passed upon him to-wit: That on Friday next the 9th Inst he be taken from the Jail of the County of Taos, to the place of Execution and there between the hours of Ten o'clock of the forenoon and

Two o'clock of the afternoon he the said Polo Salizar be hung by the neck until he is dead.

Francisco Naranjo, Jose Gabriel Somoro, Juan Domingo Matins Juan Antonio Lucero and El Curero has been indicted by the Grand Jury.

Territory of New Mexico,

vs

Indictment for Murder.

Francisco Naranjo, Jose Gabriel Somoro, Juan Domingo Martins, Juan Antonio Lucero and El Cuerroe.

And now on this day comes the Cirucit Attorney, and the said defendants with their counsel, and pleads not guilty as charged, Whereupon a jury is called, empaneled and sworn to wit:

Manuel Lafore, Edmund Chadwick, Benj. Davy, Charles Town, C. L. Corrier, Elijah Ness, Lewis Simmonds, Basal Le-Rew, Baptiste Charleyfoe, Jos. Paulding, Thomas Whitlo and John L. Hatcher, during the pendency of the case the Court adjourned to two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Court met and the trial proceeded, the evidence having been given to the jury and a brief argument by the counsel the matter was submitted, they returned the following verdict. We the Jury find the above named defendants Guilty as charged in the Indictment.

Whereupon the Court considered and adjudged that the said Defendants suffer the penalties of the law in such cases and that the defendants aforesaid be sent back to the Prison and there remain until the sentence of death be passed upon them after which the Court adjourned until Friday the 9th Inst at nine o'clock.

Robert Cary,
Clerk

Aprove

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl, 9, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment, Manuel Miera, Manuel Sandoval, Rafael Tafoya and Juan Pacheco who had been Indicted for Murder and Francisco Rivole charged with High Treason who all plead not Guilty as charged. The counsel for Francisco Rivole moved the postponment of said trial until Monday. The Court considers said motion and

grants said request, after which the Court adjourned until Saturday the 10th Inst.

Approve

Charles Beaubien.

Robert Cary
Clerk.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl 10-47.

The Court met pursuant to Adjournment; Mr. Allen Counsel for the Five Indians who were convicted of Murder on the 8th Inst, Submitted a Motion to the Court to Set the Verdict aside and order a new trial; the Court after duly considering said Motion it was overruled, and the Sentence of Death was passed upon said Prisoners, to-wit, That on Friday the 30th Inst they be taken from the jail to the place of Execution and between the hours of Ten O'clock of the forenoon and Two O'clock of the afternoon, of said day they be hung by the neck until they are dead.

Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for Murder.

Manuel Miera, Manuel Sandoval
Rafael Tafoya, Juan Pacheco.

And now on this day comes the Circuit Attorney, and the said Defendants with their counsel and being ready for trial a Jury is called, empaneled and sworn to-wit: Horace Long, Joseph Pley, Manuel Lafore, Peter Joseph, Benjamin Day, Joseph Paulding, Edmund Chadwick, Asa Estes, John S. Hatcher, Louis Simmons, Thos. Whitlo and Baptiste Charleyfoe. The evidence being Submitted to the Jury they returned the following verdict. We the Jury find the above named defendants Guilty as charged in the Indictment. It is therefore Considered and adjudged by the Court that the said defendants suffer the penalties of the law in such cases made and provided, and that on Friday the 30th day of April next they the said defendants be taken from the Jail of their confinement to the place of execution and between the hours of Ten O'clock of the forenoon and Two O'clock of the afternoon of said day they be hung by the neck until they are dead, after which the Court adjourned until Morning at Nine O'clock.

Aprove,

Charles Beaubien.

Robert Cary,
Clerk

'Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl 12'' 1847.

The Court met pursuant to Adjournment. Grand Jury called and answered to their names and presented a True Bill.

Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for Murder.

Asencio.

And now this day comes the Circuit Attorney and the said defendant with his counsel and said defendant pleaded not Guilty as charged. Whereupon a Jury is called, empaneled and sworn to-wit: Horace Long, Lucian Maxwell, Antonio Dutt, Peter Joseph, Benj. Day, Asa Estes, Charles Town, Elijah Ness, Manuel Lafore, Baptiste Charleyfoe, Berall LeRew and Rovert Fisher. The Evidence having been given to the Jury they returned the following verdict: We the Jury find the Defendant Not Guilty as charged in the Indictment, Benj. Day, Foreman. It is therefore considered and adjudged by the Court that said defendant be discharged from the custody of the law and that he go his way, after which the Court adjourned.

Robert Cary,
Clerk

Aprove,
Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl, 12, 1847.

The U. States District Court met. Grand Jury called and answered to their names.

United States

v

Indictment for High Treason.

Francisco Revali.

And now on this day the U. S. Attorney appeared and the defendant with his counsel. A Jury was called, empaneled and sworn, to-wit: Horace Long, Peter Joseph, Benj. Day, Jos. Paulding, Chas. Town, Antonio Duet, Basil LeRew, Jose Ignacio Valdez, Edmund Chadwick, Pedro Valdez, Asa Estes and Rafael de Serna. the evidence being submitted the jury return the following verdict, We the jury find the defendant not guilty as charged in the Indictment. Edmund Chadwick, Foreman. It is therefore adjudged and considered by the Court that the said defendant be discharged from the custody of the law and that he depart without day.

Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for Murder.

Juan Antonio Avile.

The Circuit Attorney Appears and the defendant with his counsel and are ready for trial when the Court adjourned until tomorrow at Nine O'clock.

Approved.

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl 12, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment and the case of the Territory of New Mexico

vs

Francisco Revali.

Continued. A Jury was called, empaneled and sworn, to-wit: Horace Long, Peter Joseph, Benj. Day, Jos. Paulding, Charles Town, Antonio Duet, Basil Le Rew, Jose Ignacio Valdez, Edmund Chadwick, Pedro Valdez, Asa Estes and Rafael de Luna, the matter being submitted the Jury return the following verdict, We the jury find the defendant not guilty as charged in the Indictment. It is therefore adjudged and considered, by the Court that the defendant be discharged from the custody of the law and that he go his way. being entered by the Court as an attorney, was enrolled accordingly after which the Court adjourned.

Robert Cary

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 13, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Territory of New Mexico

v

Indictment for Murder.

Juan Antonio Avila

And now on this day comes the Circuit Attorney and the defendant with his counsel and being prepared for trial a Jury is empaneled and sworn to-wit: Robert Fisher, Antonio Deitt, Peter Joseph, Joseph Paulding, Edmund Chadwick, C. L. Corrier, Pedro Valdez, Vidal Trujillo, Asa Estes, Jose Ignacio Valdez, Rafael de Luna and Benjamin Day. The evidence having been given to the Jury, they returned the following verdict. We the jury find the defendant Guilty as Charged in the Indictment. It is therefore adjudged and

considered, by the Court that the defendant suffer the penalties of the law and that on Friday the seventh day of May next he be taken from the jail of the County to the place of execution and between the hours of Ten O'clock of the forenoon and two o'clock of the afternoon of said day he the said Antonio Avila be hung by the neck until he is dead. The U. S. District Attorney entered a nol prosque in the case of the United States vs Varua Tafoya, Felipe Tafoya, Pablo Guerra, charged with High Treason and are accordingly dismissed.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl 14, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Martinez v Romero, Suit dismissed at the cost of the Plaintiff.

Lee v Trujillo, Suit renewed

Lee v Martinez, Suit renewed

Town v Wife, Suit dismissed at the Cost of Plff.

Day v Truly, Suit dismissed at the Cost of Plff.

Joseph y Montañó, Suit renewed.

Territory of New Mexico

v

Indictment for Larceny,

Jesus Silva.

And on this day the said defendant is brought into and pleads not guilty as charged, he asks the Court through his counsel to postpone the case until the 15th, the Court grants the request and continues the case.

Territory of New Mexico

v

Indictment for Larceny.

Miguel Volina, Farel Peralta, Soledad Sandoval.

The defendants appears and pleads not guilty as charged, when the Court adjourned to cases until tomorrow the 15th Inst. After which the Court adjourned until tomorrow morning 8 O'clock.

Robert Cary

Approve

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl 15, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Territory of New Mexico v Jesus Silva, Continued to Monday the 19th Inst.

Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for Horse Stealing.

Miguel Molina.

And now on this day the defendant is brought into Court and pleads not guilty. Whereupon a Jury is called, empaneled and sworn, to-wit: Peter Joseph, Charles Town, C. L. Corrier, Basil Le Rew, Thos. Whitlo, Blass Trujillo, Inline Lucero, Jose Ignacio Valdez, Edmund Chadwick, Momingue LeGrand, Jose Tafoya and Rafael Sanchez, the evidence being given, the Jury found the following verdict. We the Jury find the Defendant guilty as charged and assess his punishment at Fifty lashes, on his bare back, well laid on. Edmund Chadwick Foreman. It is therefore considered by the Court, that the said defendant suffer the penalties as set forth in the verdict, to-wit: that in Fifteen minutes after the said sentence he the said defendant receive twenty-five lashes tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock he receive twenty five and be further remanded to Prison until the Costs in this behalf are paid, and the said defendant was indicted by the Grand Jury, charged with Horse Stealing, and the Circuit Attorney entered a nol pros. que and discharged from the second Indictment, after which the Court adjourned until 2 o'clock.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Territory of New Mexico,

v

Indictment for Theft.

Rafael Teralto.

And now on this day comes the Circuit Attorney and the defendant with his counsel and pleads Not Guilty as charged, a Jury is called, empaneled and sworn, to-wit: Robert Fisher, Manuel Lafore, Charles Town, Elijah Ness, Jose Ignacio Valdez Jose Tafoya, Juan Miguel Baca, Blass Trujillo, Thos. Whitto, Chas. Roselecheuf, Rafael Sanchez and Julian Lucero, the Jury after hearing the evidence returned the following verdict. We the Jury find the Defendant Not Guilty, Chas. Town, Foreman. It is therefore considered by the Court, that the said defendant be discharged from the custody of the law and that he go without day- after which the Court adj. until tomorrow at 9 O'clock.

Approve,

Charles Beaubien.

Robert Cary
Clerk

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 16th 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Territory of New Mexico,

Indictment for Horse Stealing.

Jose Fabian Baca.

The defendant appears with his counsel and pleads not guilty. Whereupon a Jury is called, empaneled sworn, to-wit: Jos Play, Luvio Sheets, Chas. Roubideaux, C. L. Corrier, Jos. Paulding, Benj. Day, Peter Joseph and Blass Trujillo. The evidence being submitted to the Jury the return the following verdict. We the Jury find Jose Fabian Baca Guilty as charged and condemn him to receive twenty five lashes on his bare back, Edmund Chadwick Foreman. It is therefore considered by the Court that the said defendant be punished in accordance with the verdict, and that at Six of the afternoon of this day he receive upon his bare back and that said defendant satisfy the costs in this behalf expended.

Territory of New Mexico v Soledad Sandoval, Case continued.

Territory of New Mexico,

Indictment for Larceny.

Jesus Silva.

And now on this day the defendant appears with his counsel who plead not guilty as charged, whereupon a Jury is called, empaneled and sworn, towit: Antonio Duett, Basil Lerue, Robert Fisher, Lewis Sheets, Elijah Ness, Horace Long, Benj. Day, Lucian Maxwell Charles Town, Peter Rushford, Pablo Archuleta and Jose Ignacio Valdez. The evidence being they returned the following verdict. We the Jury find the defendant Not Guilty, Lewis Sheets, Foreman. It is therefore considered and adjudged by the Court, that the said defendant be discharged from the consideration of said Indictment, but the Court ordered the said defendant back to Prison, and there to await the trial of another Indictment of a similiar character after which the Court adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Robert Cary
Clerk

Approve

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl 17, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment, and being no

business prepared, the Court adjourned until 2 o'clock of the afternoon, at which time the Court met and still no business to be brought forward the Court adjourned until Monday Morning at 9.

Robert Cary
Clerk

Aprove

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 20, 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Territory of New Mexico,

vs

Indictment for Mule Stealing.

Jose Mariana Samora.

And on this the parties appeared the defendant pleads not guilty as charged whereupon a Jury is called to-wit: A. B. Robans, Peter Joseph, Thos. Whitlo, Chas. Town, Elijah Ness, Basil Lerew, Juan Tafoya, C. L. Carrier, Vicente Cardenas, Juan Trujillo and Jesus Tafoya who being duly sworn to try the cause, and hearing the evidence they return the following verdict. We the Jury find the above named defendant Guilty, and assess the punishment to twenty five lash on his bare back. It is thereupon considered and adjudged, by the Court, that said defendant receive the punishment as set forth in said verdict and that on this afternoon at Six o'clock, the said defendant receive twenty five lashes on his bare back.

Territory of New Mexico vs Archuleta, by agreement of counsel a nol pros entered. Same v Nicolas de Herrera and Jesus Mondracon were discharged by paying costs. Court adjourned until 2 o'clock.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl. 20-47.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment, the Grand Jury appeared before the Court and prayed that the Court would discharge said Grand Jury from further consideration of the duties, for which they had been called together as they had finished the business as enjoined upon them by the Court. The Court hearing said prayer from said Grand Jury and accordingly they were discharged.

Territory of New Mexico,

vs

Indictment for -----

Jesus Baca.

And now on this day the Circuit Attorney and counsel for defendant by their agreement, a nol Pros que was entered and said defendant was released from the penalty of the law and the cost in this behalf expended be rendered against said defendant after which the Court adjourned to 2 o'clock.

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 20'' 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for Larceny.

Lugarde Cortez and Guadalupe Montoya.

And now on this day the Circuit Attorney appears and also the said defendants with their counsel and pleads not guilty, whereupon a Jury is called, empaneled and sworn, to-wit: Wm. Rutherford, Elijah Ness, Peter Joseph, Jose Tafoya, Juan Miguel Baca, Juan Trujillo, Jesus Romero, Pedro Valdez, Julian Martinez, Vicente Cardenas and Juan Cristobal Tafoya; the Evidence being given to the Jury, they returned the following verdict. We the jury find the above named Defendants Guilty and assess the punishment to Lugarde Cortez one year imprisonment at hard labor and Guadalupe Montoya a fine of Ten Dollars, C. L. Corrier Foreman. It is therefore considered and adjudged by the Court that said defendants be punished as set forth in said verdict and that the costs in this behalf expended be rendered against them.

Territory of New Mexico

v

Indictment for receiving stolen goods.

Jose Maria Bent.

And now on this day appears the Circuit Attorney and the said defendant with his counsel and pleads not guilty as charged. Whereupon a jury is called, empaneled and sworn, to-wit: A. B. Robann, Thos. Whitlo, Elijah Ness, C. L. Corrier, Basil LeRew, Jose Tafoya, Jose Maria Sandoval, Pedro Valdez, Juan Miguel Baca, Juan Trujillo, Jesus Romero and Juan Tafoya, the Jury after hearing the evidence returned the following verdict: We the Jury find the defendant not guilty, C. L. Corrier, Foreman. It is therefore adjudged and considered, by the Court, that the said defendant be discharged from the custody of the law and that he go without day; the sentence of Jose Maria Samora was postponed by the

Court until Thursday the 23rd Inst. at 8 o'clock of the forenoon.

Robert Cary
Clerk

Aprove

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos April 23d 1847.

The Court met Pursuant.

Territory of New Mexico

vs

Indictment for receiving stolen goods.

Rafael Lucero.

And now on this day the Circuit Attorney appears and the defendant with counsel and pleads not Guilty as charged. Whereupon a Jury is Called, Empaneled and sworn to-wit: Chas. Town, Wm Rutherford, Elijah Ness, Lucian Maxwell, Basil LeRew, Antoine Duett, Peter Joseph, Tomas Romero, Antonio Martinez, Rafael de Luna, Juan Rafael de Serna and Vicente Martinez, who hearing the evidence, the Circuit Attorney entered a noll pros in the case. Whereupon the Court discharged the said Defendant from the custody of the law.

Territory of New Mexico.

vs

Indictment for receiving stolen goods.

Mariano Martin.

And on this day the parties appear and the defendant pleads not guilty as charged. Whereupon a Jury is called to-wit: Peter Joseph, William Rutherford, Elijah Ness, Antonio Duett, Lucian Maxwell, Basil Lerew, Chas. Town, Rafael de Luna, Tomas Lucero Juan Rafael de Luna, Vicente Cardenas and Antonio Lucero, who being duly sworn to try the case and after the evidence being submitted, the Circuit Attorney entered a Noll pros in the case, and the Court discharged said defendant when the Court adjourned till 2 o'clock of the afternoon.

Robert Cary
Clerk

Aprove,

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, April 23d 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Territory of New Mexico,

v

Indictment for Larceny.

Jesus Silva.

And now on this day comes the Circuit Attorney and the defendant with his counsel and pleads not guilty to the charge. Whereupon a Jury was called, to-wit: A. B. Robans, Lewis D. Sheets, Wm Rutherford, Antonio Duett, Thos. Whitlo, Peter Joseph, Henry White, Basil Lerew, Chas. Town, Juan Tafoya, C. L. Corrier and Elijah Ness, who being duly sworn to try the case, the Evidence having been submitted they returned the following verdict. We the Jury find the Defendant Guilty and assess the punishment at twenty five lashes, A. B. Robans Foreman. It is therefore considered by the Court, that the said defendant receive on his bare back, Twenty Five lashes, on the 24th Inst at a quarter past one of the afternoon, after which the Court adjourned to 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Robert Cary
Clerk

Approve

Charles Beaubien.

Don Fernandez de Taos, Apl 24 1847.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment and there being no further business for the consideration of the Court, an adjournment was ordered until the next regular term thereof. (On the margin is written the word "void.")

The Circuit Attorney appears and also the counsel for Jose Maria Samora and prays the Court to remit the punishment of said defendant and to impose a fine of one hundred Dollars and costs, the Court duly considers said prayer and orders the Sheriff to remit the punishment for which said defendant was found guilty, and the execution be issued for One Hundred Dollars. The after which the Court duly examined the records from the commencement and finds them correct, signs them as approved, there being no further business for the consideration of the Court, order an adjournment until the next regular term.

Robert Cary
Clerk

Approve

Charles Beaubien.

DON JUAN DE ONATE AND THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO.

A NEW INVESTIGATION INTO THE EARLY HISTORY
OF NEW MEXICO IN THE LIGHT OF A MASS OF NEW
MATERIALS RECENTLY OBTAINED FROM THE
ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS, SEVILLE, SPAIN.

By

George P. Hammond, Ph. D.

Chapter I.

The Early Expeditions Into New Mexico.

Cabeza de Vaca. The northern frontier of New Spain soon became famed as a land of mystery. After Cortés had completed the conquest of Tenochtitlán the adventurous Spanish conquistadores began to seek for other Mexicos to subjugate. A hasty exploration of the surrounding territory soon revealed the fact that such riches were not to be found near at hand. But when Cabeza de Vaca in 1536 straggled into Culiacán from Florida after an eight years jaunt through a "no man's land" his stories, retold by hungry fortune seekers, were sufficiently astounding to provide anyone with material for dreams of great conquests in the interior. When he went to Spain and told the wonderful tale of his experiences it added greatly to the enthusiasm in the De Soto expedition then preparing. In New Spain, where Antonio de Mendoza had but recently taken up his duties as first viceroy, Vaca's accounts stirred his ambition to acquire those fabled regions. Of course, the intrepid Cabeza did not visit New Mexico. But "the effective part of his statement was the report, obtained from the Indians, of populous towns with large houses and plenty of turquoises and emeralds, situated

to the north of his route."¹ He was thus the first European to approach and hear of New Mexico, and his hearsay reports were the incentive which led to its discovery and exploration.

Fray Marcos de Niza. Mendoza's immediate plans for northern exploration failed to materialize. Nevertheless his interest did not abate, and when Coronado became the governor of Nueva Galicia he had instructions for carrying on certain preliminary discoveries with a view to bigger things should there be any excuse therefor. The expedition of Fray Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan missionary, was one of these tours. It was arranged by Viceroy Mendoza through his lieutenant Coronado.²

Early in March, 1539, Fray Marcos set out from Culiacán on a reconnoitering expedition. He was accompanied by some guides and the negro Stephen, one of Vaca's companions, whom the viceroy had taken into his pay. Proceeding into Sonora Fray Marcos sent the negro on ahead to learn what he could. He soon sent back notice that the missionary should follow immediately, great news had been obtained. It was the Seven Cities, called Cibola, of which he had heard, and whose wealth was nothing short of marvelous.

Inland were the Seven Cities, situated on a great height. Their doors were studded with turquoises, as if feathers from the wings of the blue sky had dropped and clung there. Within those jeweled cities were whole streets of goldsmiths, so great was the store of shining metal to be worked.

Beyond these Seven Cities were other rich provinces, each of which was greater than any of the famous Seven.

1. Bancroft, H. H. "History of Arizona and New Mexico," 18.

2. The standard books on the expeditions into New Mexico are: Bolton, H. E. "The Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706"; Bancroft, "Arizona and New Mexico;" Lowery, W. "The Spanish Settlements within the present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561;" Winship, George Parker, *The Coronado Expedition*; Twitchell, R. E. "Leading Facts of New Mexican History." The quotations are from the "Spanish Borderlands."

So, as ever in these tales, the splendor within reach was already dimmed by the splendor beyond! To Cibola, therefore, the friar set out on the second day after Easter.

Continuing northward to the Gila he heard of Stephen, accompanied by a band of three hundred Indians, farther on ahead toward the northeast. Fray Marcos followed in his wake, but soon learned bad news. A fleeing Indian told of Stephen's capture at Cibola, where his party was met by a shower of arrows. It was stated by some that he fell during the attack. Undaunted by the news the friar continued forward, going far enough to get a glimpse of the Seven Cities of Cibola from a plateau. There he took possession in the name of the king and then hurried back fearful of being attacked, but reached Nueva Galicia in safety.

In the city of Mexico the descriptions of Fray Marcos of the great city, as he believed he had seen it with his very eyes, caused a tumult. Another Mexico had at last been found! The discovery was proudly proclaimed from every pulpit. It passed from mouth to mouth among the cavalier adventurers, dicing and dueling away their time and impatient for richer hazards and hotter work for their swords.

Coronado. Soon everybody wanted to go to Cibola, and in a short time the viceroy had enlisted three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indian allies to undertake the subjugation of the Seven Cities and other wealthy provinces beyond. Coronado was made their leader. The assembly took place at Compostela in February, 1540, whither the viceroy came to give his final blessing upon the venture. Two months later Coronado was on his way to the kingdom of fabled wealth.

Coronado's plan was to hasten forward with a picked body of men, including the missionaries headed by Fray Marcos. Early in July he came within sight of Cibola. Bitter was the disillusion. Instead of great cities glimmering in wealth the conquerors saw a crowded village which at once showed fight. The Indians were soon driven within the walls, however, but

not till Coronado had been knocked from his horse by a rock and received an arrow wound in the foot. The defeated natives then deserted their stronghold. This satisfied the Spaniards as it was well stocked with food. It was Hawikuh which had been won, the ruins of which are to be seen about fifteen miles southwest of Zuñi, Coronado renamed it Granada, and there he remained till November, 1540.

Fray Marcos soon realized that Cibola was no place for him. It is not recorded that he was treated with violence by the disgusted soldiers, his cloak protected him, but it did not shield him from the terrible imprecations hurled at his head. His gross exaggeration was represented as falsehood, and he soon went south to escape the torment of his companions.

The Grand Canyon. While Coronado was resting, his lieutenants were sent to explore other provinces, which were now reported to contain the wealth not found at Cibola. Captain Tovar was sent to Tuzayán, the present Moqui towns in Arizona. After a short encounter with the Indians they sued for peace and became vassals of the king of Spain. They, too, had stories to tell and spoke of a great river several days' journey distant, flowing far down between red mountain walls. Captain Cárdenas was sent to verify the report, and thus became the first white man to view the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. His men made futile attempts to descend the gorge. On one occasion three of them spent a day in trying, but only succeeded in going one third of the distance.

The Buffalo Country. During the absence of Cárdenas visitors from the buffalo country came to call on Coronado. They were led by Bigotes, their be-whiskered chief, and sought the friendship of the Spaniards. They told of numerous "humpbacked cows" near their country and brought a picture of one on a piece of hide. Alvarado with twenty men was sent to accompany them on the return. Going by way of Acuco and Tiguex, in other words, by way of Acoma and the Tiguex villages on the Rio Grande, he reached Cicuyé on the Upper Pecos on the border of the plains in fifteen days. Here he was not only well received but picked up a find, a

really good story-teller whom he called El Turco from his appearance. Before returning a trip was made to the buffalo plains with the new friend as guide. Once back at Tiguex, near present Bernalillo, he found Cárdenas preparing winter quarters for the army, and here he awaited Coronado's arrival. The latter had remained at Cibola till the main army came up. After a short rest it also set out to join Cárdenas and Alvarado.

El Turco's Tales. El Turco delighted the hungry fortune seekers with tales of a new El Dorado called Quivira. It was his own home, situated far to the east.

The chief of that country took his afternoon nap under a tall spreading tree decorated with an infinitude of little golden bells on which gentle zephyrs played his lullaby. Even the common folk there had their ordinary dishes made of "wrought plate"; and the pitchers and bowls were of solid gold.

This cheering news made the army more hopeful and enthusiastic. But nothing could be done till spring. In the meantime trouble occurred with the natives. Chief Bigotes was put in chains when his tribe failed to produce some golden bracelets said to have been stolen from El Turco. Coronado next demanded three hundred blankets from the Tiguas. When these were not produced the natives were stripped of their garments. They rebelled and a battle followed. Soon the Indians begged for peace by making symbols and the Spaniards responded in like manner. But the conqueror was faithless. About two hundred were seized, many were burned, while the others broke away or died in the attempt. Never again did this people listen to proposals of peace from a race which could not be trusted.

The Expedition to Quivira. April 23, 1541, Coronado set out for Quivira under the guidance of El Turco. By June he was in western Texas where the main part of the army was ordered back to Tiguex. With a chosen body of men he continued, now veering to the north. In five weeks time the home of the Wichita Indians in Kansas had been reached.

There no sparkling sails floated like petals on the clear surface of an immeasurable stream. No lordly chief drowsed to the murmur of innumerable bells. The water pitchers on the low entrances of their grassthatched huts, were not golden. "Neither gold nor silver nor any trace of either was found among these people.."

El Turco confessed that he had been telling lies, but insisted that it was at the instigation of the people of Cicuyé, who desired that the Spaniards might perish on the plains or come back in such weakened condition that they could easily be overcome. After El Turco had been put to death for his perfidy Coronado returned to Tiguex. Here exploring parties were sent up and down the river, north to Taos, and as far south as Socorro.

The Return to Mexico. When winter came a great deal of suffering and discontent came with it. Next spring further explorations were planned, but then Coronado suffered a dangerous fall during a tournament. It was a long time before his recovery, and by that time he had given up all plans of conquest.

Hungry and tattered, and harassed by Indians, Coronado and his army painfully made their way back towards New Galicia. The soldiers were in open revolt; they dropped out by the score and went on pillaging forays at their pleasure. With barely a hundred followers, Coronado presented himself before Mendoza, bringing with him nothing more precious than the goldplated armor in which he had set out two years before. He had enriched neither himself nor his king, so his end is soon told: "he lost his reputation, and shortly thereafter the government of New Galicia."

A remnant of the wrecked expedition remained in New Mexico. Some Mexican Indians, whom we shall meet again, two soldiers, whose fate is unknown, and two missionaries and a lay brother, who suffered martyrdom in all probability, made up this group.

The Rodríguez Expedition. During the four decades which now elapsed before New Mexico again came into prominence the frontier of Spanish occupation had blazed new trails to-

ward the north. The discovery of mines was ever an important factor in expansion, and when these were discovered in the San Bartolomé valley it rapidly became the center of a thriving settlement. There were Santa Bárbara in southern Chihuahua, (frequently written Santa Bárbola in the early records), San Geronimo, San Bartolomé and Todos Santos forming a group of towns in that vicinity. Here was stationed Fray Augustin Rodriguez, a Franciscan lay brother, who had heard of a great country to the north. His imagination was stirred by the report and he applied to the viceroy for permission to enter the land. The request was granted, but the soldiers who were to accompany him were limited to twenty. At the same time the latter were allowed to barter with the Indians, which made the expedition much more attractive.

With Rodriguez

went Fray Francisco Lopez, Fray Juan de Santa Maria, nineteen Indian servants, and nine soldier-traders. The soldiers were led by Francisco Chamuscado, "the Signed." They were equipped with ninety horses, coats of mail for horse and rider, and six hundred cattle, besides sheep, goats and hogs. For barter with the natives they carried merchandise. While the primary purpose of the stock was to provide food on the way, the friars were prepared to remain in New Mexico if conditions were propitious.

Leaving Santa Bárbara June 5, 1581, they descended the Conchos to the Rio Grande and then followed the latter to New Mexico, visiting most of the pueblo groups along the way, the Piros, Tiguas, and Tanos. At that point Father Santa Maria determined to return for the purpose of giving an account of the land. There was much opposition among his companions, but he went nevertheless. There days later the Indians took his life. The rest of the party meanwhile continued northward to Taos, and then visited the buffalo plains, east of Pecos. Returning the party went west to Acoma and Zuñi, where they found four Mexican Indians who had remained there from Coronado's time. Practically

the entire pueblo region had been seen and they now returned to Santa Bárbara, though Fathers Rodriguez and Lopez remained at Puaray to establish a mission. January 31, 1582, the soldiers departed from Puaray. They could not march rapidly as their leader, Chamuscado, was ill. He died before they reached Santa Bárbara two and one-half months later.

Espejo's Relief Expedition. Reports were now made to the viceroy on the prospects of the land. It was considered especially desirable to succor the two priests and investigate the mining possibilities reported by the soldiers. But before the slow moving machinery in Mexico or Spain could be set in motion a private enterprise had been organized to rescue the friars. The Franciscans were particularly anxious about their brethren, and Fray Bernardino Beltrán was eager to accompany another "entrada." At the same time there chanced to be visiting at Santa Bárbara Don Antonio Espejo, a rich merchant of Mexico, who was willing to act as leader and pay the expenses of a relief expedition. Accordingly a party of fifteen soldiers was organized and a license secured from the "alcalde mayor" of Cuatro Ciénegas. On November 10, 1582, the party set out from San Bartolomé equipped with one hundred and fifteen horses and mules.

Like the Rodriguez expedition Espejo's group went down the Conchos to the junction and up the Rio Grande. Above the junction the soldiers passed through Jumano villages, and after passing two other tribes entered the pueblo region. They were soon at Puaray where the death of the two missionaries, Rodriguez and Lopez, was verified. With the purpose of the journey completed they might have returned, but for this Espejo was not ready. His desire for exploration was approved by Father Beltrán, and off they went to the vicinity of the buffalo plains. They soon returned and spent some time visiting most of the pueblos on the Rio Grande and its branches, the Queres, Sñá and Jemez. Then their path went westward to Acoma and Zuñi where they conversed with the

Indians left by Coronado. A part of the expedition, including Father Beltrán, was now ready to return to Nueva Vizcaya. But the rest with Espejo were bent on finding a lake of gold which had been reported toward the northwest. The mythical lake eluded their grasp, but at Moqui a gift of four thousand cotton blankets was heaped upon them. These Espejo sent back to Zuñi with five soldiers, while the remaining four accompanied him to the region of rich ores farther west. This was in the western part of Arizona, in the region of Bill Williams Fork.

Back at Zuñi, where Espejo now proceeded, he found Father Beltrán still waiting. But the latter was tired of waiting and now returned to San Bartolomé, while Espejo continued to search for riches. Going east once more Espejo visited the Queres, the Ubates, where mineral prospects were found, and the Tanos. Then, because of the smallness of his following, he determined to return. Going down the Pecos one hundred and twenty leagues the Jumanos conducted him to the Conchos. He reached San Bartolomé September 20, 1583, a short time later than Father Beltrán.

Results of these Entradas. Either of the expeditions of Rodriguez and Espejo, small as they were, accomplished almost as much as the great army which Coronado had led. In practical results they were vastly more important. Coronado's entrada had demonstrated that the Seven Cities were a hollow phantom. His exploits were well nigh forgotten. But the glowing accounts of Rodriguez and Espejo stimulated new interest in the country as a field of great opportunity. A lake of gold and mining possibilities had been reported. The frontier was aglow with enthusiasm.

The Conquest of New Mexico Authorized. Meanwhile the viceroy made a report to the king regarding the Rodriguez expedition. In response came a royal cédula, April 19, 1583, instructing him to make a contract for the settlement of the new region. The royal treasury could not be drawn upon for this purpose, and the Council of the Indies had to approve whatever plans might be arranged.

The Applicants. Numerous applicants soon appeared to take advantage of this order. The first was Cristobal Martin, of Mexico, who made extravagant demands. After him came Espejo, who negotiated directly with the crown. Francisco Diaz de Vargas, an official of Puebla, also sought the distinction. Each of these was ready to spend large sums of money on the enterprise.

Several years had now elapsed and nothing had been accomplished. Before the Marquis of Villamanrique was sent to New Spain as viceroy the problem of choosing a suitable candidate was thoroughly considered in a "junta" which he attended. The inference is that none of those who had till then sought the privilege were judged worthy. In order that there might be no further delay Villamanrique was reminded of the importance of choosing a qualified leader at once. He was given full power, except that the project had to be made without royal support.

Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares, famed as the wealthiest man in Nueva Galicia, was the first one of whom we have any record to petition Villamanrique for the conquest of New Mexico. Though Lomas was very exacting in his demands the viceroy approved the proposal March 11, 1589, and it was then forwarded to Spain only to be entirely disregarded.

Castaño's Illegal March. In the next year occurred an unlooked-for entrada which put a stop to the immediate plans for the conquest of New Mexico. It was made by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, lieutenant governor of Nueva Leon, who effected an unlicensed entrance. From the town of Alamadén, now Monclova, established in 1590, he started on July 27, with more than one hundred and seventy persons, including women and children. About August 21 messengers had been sent to Mexico, and in September the expedition halted at the Bravo for three weeks awaiting their return.³ They had probably been sent to secure the viceroy's approval for

3. Bancroft, "Arizona and New Mexico," 102' note 15.

entering New Mexico. They did not come back. Meantime the viceroy informed the king of what had occurred, for on April 9, 1591, it was decreed that neither Carabajal's lieutenant, nor anyone else, might conquer New Mexico without the viceroy's order. Moreover the king ordered that no one named by Carabajal should be chosen to carry out the conquest.⁴ Meanwhile Castaño, unaware of what was coming, led his expedition to the Pecos after overcoming numerous hardships. Late in December the first pueblo was sighted, perhaps Pecos. In the exploration that followed he may have gone as far north as Taos, down to the Queres, and "to the province where the padres were said to have been killed years before."⁵ On returning from the tour to the latter place he was informed by the Indians that another body of Spaniards had arrived. It proved to be Captain Juan Morlete, who had come with fifty men to arrest him by order of the viceroy "for having made an entrada of New Mexico and enslaved some Indians without order or license"⁶ Castaño's entire force accordingly left New Mexico by way of the Rio Grande in the summer of 1591.

Leyva and Humaña. About 1593 another unauthorized expedition was made to New Mexico by Leyva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutierrez de Humaña. They started from Nueva Vizcaya and spent about a year among the pueblos, making San Ildefonso their headquarters. They went east to the buffalo country and finally made an excursion to Kansas. On the way Humaña killed Leyva, but was in turn destroyed a little later with most of his followers.

After the first of these interruptions had passed away renewed efforts were made by wealthy individuals to win the right to settle New Mexico. Velasco was now viceroy, and to him Lomas in 1592 repeated his earlier petition. Nothing

4. "Real cedula al virrey de la Nueva España," April 9, 1591
Archivo General de Indias, 87-5-1

5. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 106.

6. "Real Cedula a la audiencia de Nueva España," January 17, 1593,
A. G. I., 87-5-1.

came of his offer since the terms were considered exorbitant by the king.⁷ Then appeared Francisco de Urdiñola, lieutenant governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and a contract was made with him for the conquest. However he was shortly accused of poisoning his wife and thus lost the opportunity. Lomas made a third fruitless attempt in 1595, the last application before that of Don Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas.

7. "Real cedula al virrey de Nueva España," January 17, 1593, A. G. I., 87-5-1.

Chapter II.

The Controversy over Oñate's Contract

Oñate's Qualifications. It was not till 1595 that the conquest of New Mexico was finally awarded to the man who was destined to fulfill the mission. At that time Don Juan de Oñate, the descendant of a family distinguished in the annals of New Spain,⁸ was given the contract.⁹ The conditions under which the agreement had been arranged seemed favorable. The viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, was his intimate friend,¹⁰ and had accordingly shown great generosity in placing his sanction on the enterprise.¹¹ There appeared to be no question of Don Juan's fitness for the task, even if we consider certain stringent qualities, which, according to an earlier decision of the viceroy, a competent *adelantado* must possess. On January 30, 1595, shortly after Francisco de Urdiñola had been arrested and before Oñate had considered going to New Mexico, Velasco lamented the fact that he knew of no one in the kingdom capable of managing such a great undertaking, "for the service of God and your majesty and the good of the natives."¹² As a faithful servant of the king it was his conviction that the conqueror must continue the work of converting the heathen even though gold or silver mines might not be discovered. There was the danger. The possibility of finding precious metals was a prime

8. Cornish, "The Ancestry and Family of Juan de Oñate," in Stephens and Bolton, "The Pacific Ocean in History," 452.

9. "Petition to the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, for the journey of exploration and capitulations of the viceroy with Don Juan de Oñate, Mexico, September 21, 1595," in Hackett, C. W. "Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773," 225-255. Hereafter cited as Oñate's contract.

10. Villagra, Capitan Gaspar de, "Historia de la Nueva Mexico." (Mexico, 1900, I, 27).

11. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 225-255, *passim*.

12. Letter of Viceroy Velasco to the king, Mexico, January 30, 1595, in *ibid.*, 221.

motive in any discovery, and Velasco regretted that ordinarily the explorers would desert as soon as the dearth of such wealth was realized. The proposed pacification and conversion would thereby be completely defeated, the baptized Indians would at once relapse into barbarism, and the deserting soldiers and colonists commit outrages and assaults on the Indians, which must invariably make the very name of Christians contemptible and odious among the heathen. The viceroy realized these facts and confessed that such had been the experience in other explorations.¹³

Velasco's discouragement over Uriñola's fate, as evidenced by the above letter, was forgotten when Oñate came forward and sought to lead an expedition to the "otro" Mexico.¹⁴ Various motives entered into Don Juan's determination to risk his fortune and reputation in this venture, chief of which, perhaps, was the hope of glory and material gain. These considerations always played a part in any conquest undertaken by the Spaniards.¹⁵ Nor can we overlook the religious reason which was ever prominent in these entradas. But a different incentive also appears. Oñate had just suffered the loss of his wife, and like the famous Simón Bolívar of South America determined to conquer his grief by dedicating himself in a greater way than before to the service of his majesty.¹⁶

The first negotiations seemed destined to bear fruit. In the summer of 1595 he had petitioned the viceroy for the honor and privilege of undertaking this conquest, which had been awaiting the beckon of some enterprising character since the days when Espejo reexplored the land and reported it good. To Velasco the new conquistador seemed the man for the job. Reporting to his sovereign the circumst-

13. Letter of Velasco to the king, January 30, 1595, in *ibid.*

14. Oñate's contract, in *ibid.*, 225.

15. Cunninghame Graham, R. B. *The Conquest of New Granada*, viii.

16. "Relacion que hizo Don Luis de Velasco del estado en que hallo y dexo aquel reyno quando le promevieron al virreynato del Peru, 1595," A. G. I., 2-2-4-4.

ances of the contract made with Oñate, he stated that Don Juan was better qualified to conquer this "new" Mexico than any of those who had formerly sought the honor.¹⁷ Moreover before Velasco had actually accepted Oñate for this conquest some correspondence had taken place between the two in which the viceroy acknowledged the great services of Don Juan's ancestors as well as his own merits, and only regretted that things were in such a condition that he could not then open negotiations.¹⁸ If additional proof of Oñate's standing is necessary it may be observed that Martin, Lomas, and Uriñola were all men of wealth and achievement,¹⁹ and when the viceroy stated that Don Juan de Oñate was better qualified than these it is evident that he was highly appreciated by his contemporaries.²⁰

Family Ties. Don Juan's reputation was naturally enhanced by the standing of his father, Don Cristobal, for after arriving in Mexico in 1524, the latter soon became engaged in exploring and conquering on the frontier of Nueva Galicia.²¹ Here he proved himself equal to the dangers and responsibilities of the frontier. In 1538, on the death of the governor of Nueva Galicia, Don Cristobal held that office a short time, and when Francisco Vázquez Coronado was named governor in 1539, he became lieutenant governor. Heavy responsibilities soon devolved on him, for during the absence of Coronado in New Mexico the Indians of Nueva Galicia revolted, and it became his duty to quell the uprising. In doing so he distinguished himself by his prudence, justice and military skill.²² After the Mixton war, as this revolt is

17. Velasco to the king, Mexico, October 14. 1595, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 257.

18. Villagra, "Historia," I, 27.

19. See Bancroft, 'Arizona and New Mexico, 94-100.

20. Santiago del Riego to the king, Mexico November 10, 1596, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 369 ff. Riego gave Don Juan a remarkable send-off in this letter; whether it was nobility of character, material resources, or the support of wealthy friends and relatives, he possessed them all.

21. Cornish, op. cit., 454.

22. Bancroft, "History of Mexico," II, 464-465; 490.

termed, was over, Don Cristobal continued his exploring activities. In fact, he is reported to have conquered and settled the major part of Nueva Galicia at his own expense.²³ In 1548 we find him, in company with three notable Spanish officers, exploring and pacifying the Indians in the vicinity of Zacatecas.²⁴ From the natives rumors of rich silver lodes in the neighborhood reached them and these they soon discovered. So abundant were these veins that they became the four wealthiest men in America at that time.²⁵

Not much is known of Don Juan de Oñate before the year 1595. He appears to have been born in Mexico,²⁶ but neither his native town nor the date of his birth has been preserved. Our knowledge of his youth is equally meager. It seems that he entered the service of the king early in life. In his petition to Velasco in 1595, he stated that for more than twenty years he had been engaged in fighting and pacifying the Chichimecas, Guachichiles, and other Indians of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya at his own expense.²⁷

Influential Friends. The meritorious experiences of Oñate's youth may, indeed, not have been different from those of many another frontier captain. However the distinguished services and great wealth of his father were a marked asset in obtaining preferment in the royal service. Furthermore the Oñate family was blessed with a host of friends among the best families of New Spain and Nueva Galicia. Don Juan had married into one of the famous colonial families. His wife was Isabel Tolosa Cortés Montezuma, great granddaughter of Montezuma, granddaughter of Cortés, daughter of Juan de Tolosa and Leonor Cortés de Montezuma.²⁸ Don

23. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 227.

24. Mota Padilla, "Historia de la conquista de la Nueva Galicia," 194-195.

25. Bancroft, "Mexico," II, 554; Bolton and Marshall, "Colonization of North America," 55.

26. Probably in 1549. "Consulta en el Consejo de Indias," April 6, 1622. A. G. I., 66-5-10.

27. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 227.

28. Bolton, "Spanish Borderlands," 170; Cornish, *op. cit.*, 459, and table facing 452.

Juan's four brothers, Don Fernando, Don Cristobal, Luis Nuñez Pérez, and Don Alonso, were all wealthy and rendered valuable assistance in the conquest of New Mexico. Of these the first three and Maria de Galarsa, their only sister, married successfully.²⁹ Don Alonso seems to have remained single.

Don Juan also had the support of four famous nephews, the Zaldivar brothers, Cristobal, Francisco, Juan and Vicente, who achieved distinction in the service of the king.³⁰ In addition he had the support of Diego Fernández de Velasco, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, with whom he had conferred in regard to the contract;³¹ of Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, who had been instrumental in opening up mines in Nueva Vizcaya, a man who possessed enormous cattle ranches there and had at one time been governor of the same province;³² of Santiago del Riego, an "oidor" of the audiencia of Mexico, who in 1596 had spent thirty-three years in audiencia service;³³ of Maldonado, likewise of the audiencia; of Don Antonio de Figueroa; Ruy Diaz de Mendoza; and Juan Cortés, great grandson of Cortés.³⁴ These are the names of some of the influential men who encouraged Oñate and supported him in the proposed conquest. Moreover Velasco the viceroy always dealt liberally with him and recommended him

29. Cornish, *op cit.*, 461-462. Mrs. Cornish states that Luis Nuñez was unmarried, which is an error. He was married to a daughter of Vicente de Zaldivar. "Memoria de cargos y capitulos que se averiguaron contra el Doctor Valderrama Mexico, 1610.

A. G. I., Camara, no 273.

30. Cornish, *op. cit.*, 463. There has been some argument as to whether the Zaldivar brothers were Oñate's cousins or nephews. In the documents they are always referred to as "sobrinos," never as cousins. Cf. Bancroft "Arizona and New Mexico," 117 note 9.

31. Villagra, "Historia," I, 28.

32. Bolton and Marshall, "Colonization," 56, 58; Hackett, "Hist Docs," 16, 17.

33. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in *ibid.*, 369-375; cf. Villagra, "Historia" I, 28.

34. Villagra, "Historia," I, 28-29. Villagra states that the greater number of these men were descendants of Juan de Tolosa, founder of Zacatecas, and of the illustrious Salas, its first alcalde.

to the king for the bestowal of greater favors,³⁵ so long as these demands did not exceed or controvert the royal ordinances of 1573, regulating new discoveries. Velasco was a very popular ruler, intelligent and learned. He had resided in the country many years and had occupied various important positions. As viceroy he was accordingly beloved by his people. This fact helps us to understand his generous attitude toward Don Juan de Oñate.³⁶

The Petition and Contract. The lengthy document in which Don Juan presented his petition for the conquest of New Mexico was read before the viceroy on September 21, 1595.³⁷ He examined the petition and contract, and gave a detailed opinion on every proposal in the form of extensive marginal notes. Most of the proposals were accepted without change; some were modified; and others rejected outright. Several copies of the contract have recently come to light as the result of investigations in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, proving abundantly that it is the document by which Oñate was awarded the discovery and conquest of New Mexico.³⁸

The only writer who has seen or made any use of this contract is Josiah Gregg. He obtained a copy of the document from the Secretary of State at Santa Fé, and gave a brief resume thereof in his "Commerce of the Prairies." He accurately stated the proposals made by Oñate, but gave no indication as to what demands were granted or rejected by the viceroy in his marginal decrees. Gregg merely satisfied himself with the generalization that "although these exorbitant demands were not all conceded, they go to demonstrate by what incentives of pecuniary interest, as well of honors, the

35. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 235, 237, 243.

36. Bancroft, "Mexico," II, 758; Riva Palacio, "Mexico a traves de los siglos," II, 449.

37. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 225-255. According to Villagra, the poet and historian of the expedition, the viceroy made a contract with Oñate on August 24, 1595. There is no evidence to support this statement.

38. Two copies of the contract are in A. G. I., 1-1-3-22; another in 58-3-15; another in 58-3-12; another 58-3-14.

Spanish monarch sought the 'descubrimiento, pacificacion y conversion,' as they modestly termed it, of the poor aborigines of America.'³⁹ Nor does Gregg have any information of the delays and changes that occurred with the coming of the new viceroy, the Count of Monterey. Bancroft was unable to find a copy of this document so he followed Gregg in his narrative.⁴⁰

Terms of the Contract. According to the terms of the contract which Oñate had entered into he was obliged to recruit a minimum of 200 men, fully equipped with the necessary supplies and provisions. This was to be done entirely at his own cost, though he was permitted to enlist soldiers defraying their own expenses. The royal treasury was not to be called upon to provide salaries for any part of the army whatever. Don Juan offered, among other things, to take 1000 head of cattle, 3000 sheep for wool, another 1000 for mutton, 1000 goats, 100 head of black cattle, 150 colts, 150 mares, quantities of flour, corn, jerked beef, and sowing wheat. There were also numerous minor articles including horseshoe iron and nails, footgear, medicine, bellows iron tools of various kinds, gifts to the Indians, cloth and paper. These supplies were to be held in reserve till the new settlements should be reached, but in case of extreme necessity could be used while on the march. For this latter purpose additional supplies were to be furnished by Oñate.⁴¹

Don Juan realized the necessity of providing regally for his own needs on this great expedition. His wardrobe was therefore carefully selected. As part of his personal equipment he agreed to take twenty-five horses, a like number of mules with mules, six light cavalry saddles, six trooper's saddles, six harness, two coaches with mules, two iron-tired carts with leather shields, six lances, twelve halberds, six coats of mail, six cuishes, six helmets with beavers, six sets of horse armor,

39. Gregg, Josiah. "Commerce of the Prairies," I, 117-'19.

40. Bancroft, "Arizona and New Mexico," 116-117.

41. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 227-229.

six harquebuses, six swords and daggers, two complete corselets, two stands of arms, and six buckskin jackets. These things Oñate promised to have in readiness at Santa Bárbara by the end of March, 1596, but with this the viceroy was not satisfied and required him to be ready two months earlier.⁴²

Oñate's Titles Oñate was granted the titles of governor and captain-general for two generations on condition that he fulfill his part of the contract. The viceroy promised to supplicate the king to extend this period an equal length of time. He was also to have the title of adelantado on taking possession of the land. This honor was to endure as long as the governorship, and Velasco agreed to seek a similar extension of the office.⁴³

Aid Furnished by the Crown. To minister unto the Spaniards and convert the natives Oñate was granted five priests and a lay brother, with all necessary equipment, at royal expense. To aid in maintaining peace in the province he was allowed three field pieces, thirty quintals of powder, one hundred quintals of lead and one dozen coats of mail, though he had to pay for the latter item.⁴⁴ Oñate also secured a six year loan of 6000 pesos;⁴⁵ much more had been requested. In addition he might requisition the carts and wagons needed.⁴⁶

An eagerly sought privilege granted Oñate was the right of "encomienda" for three generations. Land was to be given the settlers, and they were to be ennobled and to become hidalgos with the right to enjoy "all the honors and privileges ---that all noblemen and knights of the kingdom of Castile--- enjoy."⁴⁷

42. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 229.

43. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 235-237.

44. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 231.

45. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 237. Many accounts state that Oñate received 10,000 pesos, of which 4,000 were a gift. See Torquemada, "Monarchia Indiana," I, 670; Rivera Cambas, "Los gobernantes de Mexico," I, 70; Vetancurt, "Cronica," 95; Calle, "Memorial y Noticias Sacras," 102; Cavo, "Los tres siglos de Mexico," I, 226.

46. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 231-233.

47. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 237-239.

Furthermore Oñate was to receive a salary of 6000 ducats,⁴⁸ to name the officials of the expedition,⁴⁹ appoint and remove alguaciles, set up a royal treasury and name its officials, exploit mines though paying only a tenth instead of the usual fifth,⁵⁰ erect forts, suppress rebellion, make laws and divide the land into governmental districts.⁵¹ These powers were not absolute, but usually limited to approval by the crown.

Two articles of Oñate's contract were of special significance. In the first place he was made directly subject to the Council of the Indies. Under this arrangement neither the viceroys of New Spain nor neighboring audiencias could interfere in the administration of his government. This provision was considered of prime importance by Oñate. It meant that he would, to all intents and purposes, be entirely independent. He would not be subject to any petty interference from officials in Mexico. Only to the Council of the Indies in Spain would he be required to render account of his actions. From New Mexico Seville would indeed be far, far away.⁵²

In the second place Oñate might recruit men in any part of the kingdom of Spain. This was in a manner corollary to the above privilege. When in need of reinforcements, which must inevitably be secured in New Spain or Nueva Galicia, it would not be necessary to ask permission from the viceroy or audiencia. Such subservience involved the possibility of refusal, and, at a critical time, might mean the difference between success and failure to the conquerors of New Mexico. The fact that Velasco approved Oñate's request for these favors is not startling, for it was done by authority of the royal ordinances of 1573 regulating new conquests.⁵³

48. *Ibid.*, 241.

49. *Ibid.*, 239.

50. *Ibid.*, 243.

51. *Ibid.*, 245.

52. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 247; cf. Cunningham, "The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies," 21-24; 29.

53. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 247. In 1573 was issued a set of ordinances governing new discoveries, conquest, and pacifications. They were intended to govern and control all exploration and settlement

Some additional points in Oñate's agreement with the viceroy deserve mention. Practical freedom was given him in levying tribute; neighboring officials were to give all possible assistance in the enterprise; Oñate might annually bring two **ships duty free to his province**; provisions for the colony were exempt for ten years and supplies for Oñate's household for twenty years, while excise taxes were not to be paid for twenty years. In each case an extension of these privileges was sought.⁵⁴

Some of the outstanding requests refused by the viceroy included the giving of encomiendas to Oñate's brothers in Mexico⁵⁵ and the right of the adelantado to appoint a substitute that he might leave the province.⁵⁶

On his part Don Juan obligated himself to execute the conquest "in all peace, friendship and Christianity." At the same time he asked that instructions be given him for his guidance in settling the problems that would arise in New Mexico. This was promised, and they were issued a short time later.⁵⁷

In order to insure success Oñate requested that his patent of **discovery and exploration** should take precedence over that of any other person who might conceivably come from Spain with another capitulation signed by the king. To this Velasco replied that he was making the contract "by commission and order of his majesty", and that it should take effect from the day on which it was signed and sealed.⁵⁸ In case another should come from Spain with prior rights he was reserved the

undertaken in the colonies, and were addressed to the viceroys, presidents, audiencias, governors, and all other persons whom they might in any manner concern. See "Ordenanzas de su magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos, conquistas y pacificaciones. - Julio de 1573," in "Col Doc. Ined.," XVI. 142-187.

54. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 247-249.

55. Ibid., 245.

56. Ibid., 249.

57. Ibid., 233. They were issued on October 21, 1595.

58. Ibid., 251. There is no documentary evidence that this was not on September 21, 1595. Torquemada and Calle state the capitulations were finished on September 30. Torquemada, "Monarchia Indiana," I, 670; Calle, "Noticias," 102. I believe it perfectly certain from the contract that the former date is the correct one.

privilege to collect from the intruder any expenses that might already have been incurred for the expedition.⁵⁹ Finally the viceroy pledged in the name of the king to carry out the agreement in full and to petition for the many additional favors and privileges sought by the Zacatecas applicant.

In this manner the Spanish conquerors enumerated their own obligations and the concessions which the king must grant them before they would risk their lives and fortunes in seeking wealth and glory in new conquests. Oñate's contract was in no wise extraordinary. It was typical of the capitulations made by all the conquerors from the earliest time. It illustrates the devious paths a man must follow if he desired to win glory in subjugating new lands and rescuing the souls of the aborigines.

A Change of Viceroys. It was unfortunate for the hero of our story that a change of viceroys should be made at the very time when the contract was under consideration. Such however was the case. On September 18, 1595, the fleet from Spain arrived at San Juan de Ulloa, bringing Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Acevedo, the Count of Monterey, who was to serve as viceroy of New Spain. At the same time the incumbent, Don Luis de Velasco, was promoted to the viceroyalty of Peru.⁶⁰ The Count thus arrived to take charge of his new province three days before Velasco accepted Oñate as the conqueror of New Mexico and concluded a contract with him for that purpose.

The Oculma Conference. The arrival of a new viceroy called for ceremonies and formalities. These took place at the village of Oculma, six leagues from the city of Mexico, whither Velasco proceeded to welcome the new official.⁶¹ Amid the

59. Ibid., 251-253. Professor Hackett's statement that if "a person should come from Spain with a similar contract signed by the king, this was not to annul his contract, but on the other hand he was to be permitted to execute it notwithstanding," is not in accord with the documents which he edits. Ibid., 196. The viceroy approved the contract, and sent it to the king for final confirmation, reserving to Oñate the right to collect from his rival should one be sent by the king in the meantime.

60. Velasco's commission was signed June 5, 1595. Bancroft, "Mexico," II, 766.

61. Torquemada, "Monarchia Indiana," I, 670.

festivities of the occasion the two viceroys conferred on the problems that the Count would at once be called upon to face.⁶² These dealt with Vizcaino's expedition to the Californias; the sending of the annual supply ships to the Philippines, providing the retiring viceroy with some means of going to his new charge in Peru; and the Oñate expedition for the exploration and pacification of New Mexico. With so many big undertakings to deal with at once the Count's equanimity was somewhat ruffled.⁶³ But he went to work with a will and secured from his predecessor an idea of the things that must be done.⁶⁴

Up till the present time little or nothing has been known of the Oculma conference which took place sometime between October 14 and November 5, the date on which Monterey entered the city of Mexico.⁶⁵ In a letter to the king written in Mexico on October 14 Velasco mentioned the arrival of Monterey at San Juan de Ulloa on September 18, but said nothing of having seen him. On the contrary he wrote "In the few days that remain from now until the Count will enter this city, I will hasten to do, as I ought what your majesty orders me by it; and what I am not able to do I will communicate to the Count so that he may carry it out. . . ."⁶⁶

From the above it is clear that the two officials did not meet before October 14. That they met directly thereafter seems equally certain. Writing in 1619, Martin Lopez de Gauna, then "escribano mayor," stated that on October 21, 1595, Viceroy Monterey chose Don Juan de Oñate as gover-

62. "Relacion que hizo Velasco," 1595. Cf. Martin Lopez de Gauna to Cristobal de Oñate and Luys Nuñez Perez, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

63. Monterey to the king, February 28, 1596, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 259.

64. "Relacion que hizo Velasco, 1595. The document is not signed nor is the specific date given. However it was written before Christmas, 1595. All the letters that went by that dispatch boat were dated between December 16 and 23. The next batch of letters were sent by the second dispatch boat and were written on February 28, 1596.

65. Torquemada, "Monarchia Indiana," I, 671.

66. Velasco to the king, October 14, 1595, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 255.

nor of New Mexico.⁶⁷ Furthermore it was on October 21 that Velasco issued the instructions to Oñate which he was to observe in New Mexico and on the way thither.⁶⁸ The fact that these instructions were released on the same date confirms Gauna's testimony. Velasco's action in issuing them was clearly the result of Monterey's provisional approval as given at Oculma on October 21.

The Contract Approved Conditionally. In regard to what actually occurred at Oculma we have brief accounts by both of the principal actors.⁶⁹ The retiring viceroy, it is clear, laid the entire subject of the Oñate expedition before the Count.⁷⁰ This was in accord with Oñate's wish, for he did not want to go ahead with his preparations until assured that the new viceroy would approve the contract which Velasco had made.⁷¹ At the time of their meeting affairs had progressed to such an extent that it required but a nod of assent from Monterey to make the contract a legal document. The Count would then have been unable to make any changes should he later have deemed it expedient, without proceeding against Oñate in the courts. Monterey hesitated but finally refused to give the requisite approval till he could examine Don Juan's qualifications for the task and the provisions of the contract with care, and he contended that this could not be done without going to Mexico city.⁷²

Realizing that the fortunes of his friend were in serious

67. Martín Lopez de Gauna, May 20, 1619. A. G. I., 58-3-18.

68. "Copia de la instruccion a Oñate," October 21, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

69. "Relacion que hizo Velasco," 1595; "copia de un capitulo de carta que el virrey Don Luis de Velasco scribio a su magestad," December 23, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15; carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M. Mexico, February 28, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

70. Martín Lopez de Gauna to Cristobal de Oñate and Luís Nuñez Perez, A. G. I., 58-3-15; "relacion que hizo Velasco," 1595; "carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.," February 28, 1596.

71. Oñate to Monterey, Río de Nasas, September 13, 1595, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 363.

72. Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.," February 28, 1596. Monterey's approval of the contract, after Velasco had laid it before him, is confirmed by Velasco. "Relacion que hizo Velasco," 1595; "el Consejo de Indias a S. M.," Madrid, June 9, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3-22.

jeopardy Velasco now proposed that Don Juan should be given his patents and commissions, and he even went so far in his anxiety for Oñate's welfare that he agreed to assume the responsibility for his choice as leader of the enterprise.⁷³ Villagrà says that Velasco gave Monterey such abundant and convincing proof of the reputation and standing of Don Juan and his family that no one in New Spain could rival him as the right choice for the leadership of the expedition.⁷⁴ Under such circumstances Monterey felt obliged to permit the issuance of Oñate's warrants on October 21, 1595. Nevertheless this sanction was merely provisional. In regard to the actual provisions of the contract, no final decision was reached. It was agreed, because Velasco insisted upon it, if we are to believe Monterey, that he was to study the contract somewhat at his leisure. Should he deem it desirable that any alterations be made he was to be at liberty to do so. This is the Count's version of the affair at any rate.⁷⁵

According to Villagrà Oñate's diplomatic procedure at this particular time in securing the provisional permission to continue the expedition was of significance. He dispatched a courteous letter to the new viceroy congratulating him on his arrival in New Spain, and the Count made a gracious reply in which he expressed regret that Velasco had not concluded negotiations with Oñate, as he was an official of great prudence and distinction.⁷⁶

Judging from the above it is at least clear that the two viceroys were not in complete accord. Velasco, the retiring official, who did not sail for Peru till February, 1596,⁷⁷ con-

73. "Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.," February 28, 1596.

74. Villagrà, "Historia," I, 31.

75. "Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.," February 28, 1596.

76. Villagrà, "Historia," I, 32, 34. These letters are not extant. Oñate states that he welcomed the viceroy on his arrival. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 363. Villagrà goes on to say that the Count of Monterey approved all that had been discussed between Oñate and Velasco without changing anything whatsoever, and that he did this by ordering Oñate to depart without delay and wishing both divine and viceregal blessings on the enterprise. Villagrà, "Historia," I, 32.

77. "Don Luis de Velasco a S. M.," February 25, 1596, A. G. I., 88-6-2.

tinued to follow the Oñate expedition closely. On December 23, in a short letter to the king regarding this matter, he gave an explanation of what had occurred. He said the pacification of New Mexico was still in Oñate's hands, but on certain conditions. From the letter it does not appear what these provisos were, but it probably refers to the provisional sanction given by Monterey at Oculma.⁷⁸

That the contract was merely given provisional approval by the Count is confirmed by Oñate also. He states that he received a letter from the new viceroy, dated at Oculma, in which Monterey "not only approved and confirmed what Velasco had done, but--- ordered me to gather my provisions and ammunition in the shortest time possible for the said expedition, promising in the same letter to examine the articles of the agreement and send them to me, after correcting in them anything that seemed to need it.---" ⁷⁹

It is clear that the outcome of the first tilt with Monterey did not seem unfavorable, and Oñate expected to receive his final papers soon. But it took the Count a long time before he found the opportunity or the desire to review these negotiations. He complained it was because of the large amount of business on hand.⁸⁰ As we shall soon see Villagr  gave a very different explanation and ascribed the delay to the machinations of Oñate's enemies.⁸¹ Whatever the cause may have been Oñate had to wait two months before anything was done by Monterey in this matter.

Meanwhile Oñate's brothers, Cristobal and Luis Nu ez

78. "Copia de un capitulo de carta que el virrey Don Luis de Velasco scribio a su magestad." December 23, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15. Bancroft accepts the view that Monterey had requested Velasco to delay matters, "Arizona and New Mexico," 118.

79. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, "Hist Docs.," 363.

80. "Copia de un capitulo de carta que el virrey Don Luis de Velasco scribio a su magestad," December 23, 1595. Bancroft's argument is that Monterey opposed Oñate's capitulation because he favored Don Pedro Ponce de Leon. "Arizona and New Mexico," 118. There is nothing to support this view. Ponce was backed by the Council of the Indies.

81. Villagra, "Historia," I. 30. Cf. ch. 4 of this work.

Pérez,⁸² represented him in Mexico with the power of attorney which had been given them at Zacatecas on October 19, 1595.⁸³ On December 15 they appeared before Martin Lopez de Gauna, the "secretario de gobernacion" in Mexico, and accepted the capitulations made by Velasco with Don Juan for the conquest of New Mexico. They bound him to fulfill his duties in every respect and promised that he would not deviate one iota from the instructions which the viceroy had promulgated for his guidance on October 21.

Oñate's Instructions. It is of interest to note the nature of the instructions which the viceroy had issued to Oñate to guide his conduct in the conquest of New Mexico.⁸⁴ They illustrate how thoroughly conquering expeditions were clothed in missionary disguise. According to the law it was the chief desire of the crown to Christianize and civilize the natives. As a matter of fact conquerors undertaking to pacify new regions were usually bent on individual profit and glory.

First of all, Oñate was instructed to take oath and render homage to Vicente de Zaldivar, the king's "teniente de capitán general de Chichimecas." He was reminded that the chief purpose of the expedition was to serve God our Lord, to extend the holy Catholic faith, and to conquer and pacify the natives of the provinces of New Mexico. To this end the utmost efforts should be exerted without violating his own self-respect or oath of fealty. He was to fulfill, in every regard, the royal ordinances of 1573 regulating new conquests, and the contract made with him in accordance with those laws; to

82. Villagra is therefore mistaken when he says:

"Y luego embio poder a don Fernando,
A don Christoval, y a Luys Nuñez Perez,
Tambien a don Alonso sus hermanos, . . .
Estos capitularon la jornada, . . ."

Villagra, "Historia," I. 28.

83. "Aceptacion de las capitulaciones," December 15, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-12. "Parecieron el thesorero Luys Nuñez Perez y Don Xpoual de Oñate . . . y dixerón que en virtud del poder que tienen de Don Juan de Oñate que passo ante pedro venegas scrivano rl de minas y registros de la ciudad de nuestra senora de las cacatecas . . ."

84. "Copia de la instruccion a Oñate," October 21, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

carry out the march with great care and discipline, informing the settlers and soldiers that in every case they must treat the Indians with such kindness as to insure peace.

Disorders must not be allowed. The missionaries were to be treated with consideration, for how otherwise would the natives obey the *padres*? Only honorable means were to be used in converting the Indians, and interpreters should be procured, if possible.

In view of the belief in a mythical Strait of Anian which connected the Atlantic and the Pacific,⁸⁵ Oñate was instructed to inform the viceroy of New Spain of his discoveries in the "North Sea" without delay. Careful reports were to be made on the coastline. Harbors were not to be used till proper regulations could be made, for the great secret must not be endangered. If an enemy learned of these things it would perhaps rob the Spaniards of the fruits of their discovery.

The Indians were to be persuaded to serve the white man, forced labor being prohibited. This applied to mining as well as to other occupations. Success in handling the Indians would eliminate the necessity of bringing in negroes, which always complicated the problem of government.

All of these things Oñate was to observe with the diligence and care appropriate in order that the conquest might redound to the service of God, the growth of the holy Catholic faith, and of the royal crown.⁸⁶

Monterey's Delays. Between the time of the issuance of these instructions and the coming of Monterey Don Juan was busy preparing his expedition.⁸⁷ Seemingly he did not think of obstructions being thrown in his way. But many were in store for him, due to the arrival of a new viceroy. It is true that Monterey was reputed to be a very excellent man, but he was otherwise unknown. He soon proved to be a very cautious

85. Bancroft gives a description of the current Spanish ideas of the Northern Mystery. "Arizona and New Mexico," 13-15.

86. "Copia de la instruccion a Oñate."

87. Villagra, "Historia," I, 31.

official deliberating policies fully.⁸⁸ This caution on his part with the resultant delay gave rise to most of Oñate's difficulties, and to the judgment which contemporaries formed of Monterey. Torquemada could only call him a well intentioned man! He lacked the vision of a good ruler.⁸⁹

Considering these characteristics of the new viceroy it is easier to follow his course of action in regard to the projected conquest of New Mexico, which had been postponed until he could familiarize himself with the whole affair.⁹⁰ On December 20, 1595, he wrote a short letter to the king, stating that he had not yet reached any conclusion regarding the appropriateness of Oñate's contract.⁹¹ He therefore asked the king to await additional information before approving the contract, for he feared that efforts were being made on Don Juan's part to secure final confirmation directly from the king.⁹²

Oñate Appeals to the Crown. Oñate had been growing impatient while this long drawn out delay was slowly wearing itself away. Unable to secure the expected confirmation from the viceroy, he had, as Monterey feared, appealed directly to the king.⁹³ Oñate recalled the distinguished services of his

88. Bancroft, "Mexico," II, 766 ff; Rivera Cambas, "Los gobernantes de Mexico," I, 71.

89. Torquemada, "Monarchia Indiana," I., 671; Rivera Cambas, *op. cit.*
90. "Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M., February 28, 1596.

91. Monterey to the king, December 20, 1595, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 257-259. This is apparently a contradiction, for Oñate's letter of December 16, 1595, mentions one specific limitation made by Monterey, namely, in regard to ordinance 69, which provided that he should be directly subject to the Council of the Indies.

92. Monterey to the king, December 20, 1595, in Hackett, "Hist. Docs.," 259. Villagra says that the Count was doing this secretly:

"Y con esto escriuió tambien a España,
Con notable secreto y gran recato,
A vuestra Real Consejo que si fuesen,
De parte de don Juan a que aprouasen,
Aqueste assiento y causa ya tratada,
Se suspendiese todo y dilatase,
Hasta que el de otra cosa dicesse auiso."

See his "Historia," I. 30.

93. "Carta de don Juan de Oñate a S. M.," December 16, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

father in the conquest of Nueva Galicia and his own determination to spend life and fortune in a similar cause. His contract had been accepted by Velasco. Excessive delays which had intervened were damaging the expedition materially, and he humbly sought a favorable decree from the king in a cause which was so important to the royal service. Oñate emphasized the fact that he had not contracted for anything besides what was granted in the ordinances of 1573, due to the fact that Lomas and Urdiñola had failed in the same cause since their demands had been deemed exorbitant.⁹⁴ But he did make one urgent request. He desired to be directly subject to the Council of the Indies, in accordance with the law, which would make him independent of the viceroy of New Spain and the audiencias.⁹⁵ This had been granted by Velasco but vetoed by Monterey.⁹⁶

No relief followed this petition. The Count's report of December 20, and Oñate's appeal of December 16, were evidently received by the Council of the Indies at the same time and the viceroy's acted upon first.⁹⁷ Oñate's message was considered on March 11, 1595.⁹⁸ The Council heartily encour-

94. The statement Oñate here makes is bombastic if Monterey spoke the truth when he said that he modified Oñate's contract to make it similar to Urdiñola's. Five out of the eight articles modified were fashioned after that model. It seems to be true however that Lomas' contract was very extravagant. Bancroft, "Arizona and New Mexico," 99-100.

95. No. 69 the "Ordenances de su Magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos . . . Julio de 1573," in "Col. Docs. Ined.," XVI, 161.

96. See below.

97. This is inferred from the decree of the Council in regard to Oñate's request, which read, "que esta bien como se a respondido al virey." Decree in "Carta de don Juan de Oñate a S. M.," December 16, 1595. The reply here referred to is unquestionably the decree which appears on Velasco's letter of October 14, 1595, informing the king of the contract made with Oñate. It was acted upon by the Council on March 4, 1596. The decree reads: "Al Conde de Monterey se escrivia con esta rrelacion encargandole que entendido el estado en que dexa don Luys la guerra a esta pacificacion lo procure fauorecer para que se continue como cosa que se ha deseado y ynporta, y abise de todo la que se hiziere. Hay una rubrica." Decree in "Carta de don Luis de Velasco a S. M., October 14. 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

98. See "Carta de don Juan de Oñate a S. M.," December 16, 1595. "Vista en XI de Marco, 1596."

aged Don Juan but aside from that simply asked the viceroy and audiencia of New Spain to make further reports in this matter. Meanwhile no changes were to be made.⁹⁹

Monterey's Decision. The Count of Monterey seems to have been somewhat inconsistent. At the time that he asked the king not to approve Oñate's pretensions he had already come to a decision in regard to at least one point. He had rejected the article permitting the governor of New Mexico to be immediately subject to the Council of the Indies.¹⁰⁰ All other doubts were cleared up immediately after the sending of the letter of December 20. In his next report to the crown the Count stated that he had come to a decision in regard to Oñate's contract during the Christmas holidays.¹⁰¹ On that occasion his capitulations were carefully compared with those formerly made with Lomas and Urdiñola, likewise for the conquest of New Mexico, and his conclusion was to limit some of the articles granted by Velasco even though they might be sanctioned by the laws of 1573. Monterey professed to have many reasons for acting in such a manner, the gist of which was that if Oñate merited reward it could be given in the future.

Reasons for his Action. The viceroy went on to explain his treatment of Oñate at some length. Ogaño's expedition to the Philippines, in which it seem he was particularly interested, and Vizcaino's expedition to the Californias were being recruited at the same time. He desired to speed up the former, and therefore had not allowed Oñate more than one recruiting squad although he thereby delayed the organization of his army. His reason for this was practical enough as he feared that so many simultaneous efforts to fill the requisite quotas would lead to serious trouble with the Indians. In former years there had been much difficulty in recruiting the necessary men for the Philippine service. While the troops were

99. Ibid. "Informen cerca desto virey y audiencia y en el entretanto no se haga nobedad."

100. "Carta de don Juan de Oñate a S. M., December 16, 1595.

101. "Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M., February 28, 1596.

being enlisted the city of Mexico would be in a state of turmoil, since compulsion was frequently resorted to in order to get the desired number. Accordingly Monterey wanted to send off the more difficult sea expedition, fearing that everybody would flock to Oñate's standard as he would go by land. The results were as expected. Ogaño had no difficulty filling his quota, and thus at the time Monterey was writing, February 28, 1596, he had already permitted Oñate the privilege of sending out additional recruiting squads both in Mexico and in Nueva Galicia.¹⁰² Monterey's caution in regard to arousing the Indians was in accord with his general policy as viceroy. He was determined to settle the Indian problem of New Spain which his predecessor had not accomplished. For that reason he did not wish to incur the hatred of the natives before attempting to carry out the plans of his administration.¹⁰³

In addition the new viceroy was opposed to some parts of Oñate's contract, and he requested that these be not granted. He had conferred with his advisers in New Spain who were better informed in such matters, and they supported him. Oñate's independence of the viceroy of New Spain was not allowed.¹⁰⁴ Monterey felt that there was too great danger in giving him such freedom. The king's subject in New Spain should have recourse to the crown there, and not only in distant Spain. He considered it even less tolerable that there should be no appeal to the audiencias, as was provided in Oñate's contract. The audiencia served as a check on the viceroy; was it fitting that a mere governor should be completely unrestricted? Moreover doubts were cast on Oñate's fitness for the position of governor of New Mexico. He lacked property and funds, and was burdened with debts, so it was said.¹⁰⁵ These aspersions came at a critical moment. Previously, on December 20, 1595, Monterey advised delay. Now,

102. Ibid.

103. Bancroft, "Mexico," II, 767; Rivera Cambas, op. cit., I, 71-72.

104. See below.

105. "Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.," February 28, 1596.

two months later, he not only recommended reservations but actually cast serious reflections on Oñate's ability to carry out the conquest. These statements were duly considered by the Council of the Indies. They came at the time when Don Pedro Ponce de Leon was seeking the Council's permission to replace Oñate as governor of New Mexico.

The Modifications. The limitations made by Monterey in Oñate's contract were finally made known at Christmas time, 1595. Notice of what the viceroy had decided upon was sent to Luis Nuñez Pérez and Cristobal, Oñate's brothers who represented him in Mexico. The modifications follow.¹⁰⁶

First, the right to enlist soldiers and colonists was limited to the expedition then being prepared by Oñate. If reinforcements were needed a special order must be sought from the viceroy. The appointment of the commissioned officers was limited in the same way.

Second, Oñate's right to appoint royal officials with suitable salaries was limited so that their pay should not exceed that of the officials in Mexico.

Third, instead of being independent of the viceroy and audiencia in Mexico, Oñate was made responsible to the viceroy in all matters of war and finance, and to the audiencia of Mexico in judicial and administrative affairs.

Fourth, Oñate had been permitted to send some ships to the "North Sea" which he was about to discover. This privilege was withdrawn.

Fifth, the Indians were to be persuaded, if possible, to pay tribute voluntarily. The governor might determine the amount, but he was required to seek the advice of the royal officials and of the prelates of the religious orders.

Sixth, all encomiendas of Indians granted by Oñate must be reported to the king and confirmation secured within three years.

106. Martin Lopez de Gauna to Cristobal de Oñate and Luis Nuñez Perez (December, 1595?) A. G. I., 58-3-15.

Seventh, the honor of becoming *hidalgo* with the same privileges as nobility of that rank enjoyed in Spain, was limited to those who persevered in the conquest for five years.

Eighth, Oñate was ordered to pay for the thirty quintals of powder and one hundred quintals of lead which the king was to provide.

Acceptance of the Modifications. Cristobal de Oñate had been informed of these limitations of his brother's capitulations by Martin Lopez de Gauna, the "secretario de gobernacion," without delay, it seems.¹⁰⁷ But in view of the fact that Don Juan's privileges had been so severely curtailed Cristobal protested. In assuming this conquest it was his brother's principal motive, as well as his own, to continue to serve the king as their family had hitherto done.¹⁰⁸ It was in that manner they hoped to win reward, rather than by seeking the fulfillment of those provisions in the contract which Monterey had limited. For that reason he consented to the modification of Oñate's contract, as the Count had stipulated, in order that the expedition might go on. Obviously that was the only course open to him. Cristobal made one reservation, however. He retained the privilege of appealing to the king for the restoration of the limitations which he had just assented to, and also made a special request of the viceroy. He asked that Don Juan be freed from the obligation of paying for the powder, lead and artillery as Monterey had required. Cristobal stated that it had been granted in order that Leyba and Humaña and their companions, who were thought to be in New Mexico, might be apprehended. The Count however was

107. Martin Lopez de Gauna to Cristobal de Oñate and Luis Nuñez Perez (December, 1595?) A. G. I., 58-3-15.

108. Letter of Cristobal de Oñate, (January, 1596) A. G. I., 58-3-15. Cristobal's reply was written in the margin of Gauna's letter containing the limitations made by Monterey. No date is given for either one, but it is evident that this correspondence took place between the Christmas Holidays of 1595 and January 13, 1596. The Count said he made the modifications at the former time. On the latter date the viceroy issued a decree acknowledging receipt of Don Cristobal's letter wherein he agreed to the limitation of the contract in the name of his brother. This decree finally permitted Oñate to go ahead with the expedition.

adamant. No concession would be made. But he did agree to investigate the particular reasons advanced and promised that if these proved sufficient to warrant the expense to give attention to the request.¹⁰⁹

The Expedition Authorized. On the acceptance of Cristobal de Oñate's letter the Count immediately dispatched a decree, giving Don Juan permission to use the contract which Velasco had made with him, provided the above limitations were added.¹¹⁰ He was thus finally given an unrestricted right to proceed with the conquest and to enjoy all the privileges previously granted, with the exception of the restrictions just noted. For Oñate the clouds of trouble at last seemed to have rolled away, but in the meantime a plot was hatching on the other side of the Atlantic. So we shall now leave Oñate to enjoy his temporary good fortune while we observe the development of events in Spain. For a time these affairs, centering about Don Pedro Ponce de Leon, threatened to upset Don Juan's hopes and to give an entirely different turn to the story of the conquest of New Mexico.

109. Martin Lopez de Gauna to Cristobal de Oñate and Luis Nuñez Perez.

110. January 13, 1596. "Aceptacion del consentimiento a la moderacion de las capitulaciones. . . .", A. G. I., 58-3-15.

(To be continued.)

RALPH EMERSON TWITCHELL

AFTER long illness and intense suffering, death came to Colonel Ralph Emerson Twitchell, the seventh president of the Historical Society of New Mexico, at sunrise, August 26, 1925, at the Cara Barton Hospital, Los Angeles. Burial took place in Fairview Cemetery, Santa Fe, on the Sunday following, after services in the Church of the Holy Faith (Episcopal) conducted by the pastor, Rev. Walter Trowbridge. The Masonic ritual at the grave concluded the obsequies.

Ralph Emerson Twitchell was born at Ann Arbor, Michigan, November 29, 1859. His parents were Daniel Sawin and Delia Scott Twitchell, both of distinguished New England ancestry whose lines have been traced back to feudal days in England. Early in life, he gave evidence of a flare for research and scholarship. At the age of 23, he graduated from the University of Michigan with the degree LL. B., although the University of Kansas had been his earlier alma mater.

As a Lawyer

Having chosen the law for his profession young Twitchell entered the law offices of Judge Henry L. Waldo, solicitor for the A. T. and S. F. Railway Company, which had just extended its line to Santa Fe, the City that had given the system its name. The friendship of the two men continued for three decades, closed only by Judge Waldo's death. The latter had trained his younger associate to be his successor but somehow this wish of the able jurist failed to reach fulfillment, although Colonel Twitchell to the end maintained his connection with the legal department of the railway system. Even after he had been pensioned, he was called in on intricate cases and proved his value to the railroad company in important damage suits. As a tribute to his standing in the legal profession, he was elected to the presidency of the New Mexico Bar Association. During the stormy administration of Governor



RALPH EMERSON TWITCHELL

Lionel Sheldon, he was judge advocate of the Militia. From 1889 to 1892 he was district attorney for the First Judicial district. Of late years he was a special assistant to the attorney general of the United States being assigned the duty of examining into Pueblo land titles. He prepared an exhaustive monograph on the history and status of the Pueblo land grants which has not yet been published by the federal government.

In Political Life

From the law to politics was a natural sequence. Colonel Twitchell, a Republican, threw himself with characteristic energy into the political turmoil of the then Territory. He was delegate to political conventions in city, county and state. He was in demand for campaign speaking and held various party positions culminating with the chairmanship of the Republican Territorial Central Committee in 1902 and 1903. He was appointed to territorial and state boards by successive governors, those he prized most highly being membership in the governing board of the Museum of New Mexico and the chairmanship of the Panama California Exposition Board.

Organizer and Publicist

Colonel Twitchell loved the spectacular and the light of publicity. He was a born advertiser and showman, and One of his early triumphs in these fields was at the session of the National Irrigation Congress held in Albuquerque in 1908. In making the arrangements for this convention, he compiled his first big volume on the resources of New Mexico. As first vice-president of the Congress, he contributed to the formulating of the reclamation policy adopted by the Nation. As president of the Santa Fe chamber of commerce, he was a factor in making the Santa Fe Fiesta a nationally known event. It was in the New Mexico Exhibit at the San Diego Exposition, however, that his genius for creating spectacular effects and for obtaining publicity, reached its apogee. At his suggestion, New Mexico reproduced for its building the Franciscan Mis-

sion of Acoma. He was among the first to use motion pictures to advertise a state's attractions and resources. Later the Exposition building was perpetuated in more substantial and elaborate form in the Art Museum at Santa Fe, in the construction of which he was deeply interested. Several volumes of clippings from newspapers and magazines, tell the story of achievements by New Mexico at San Diego, the effects of which are still beneficially felt ten and more years later throughout the entire Southwest. It was for this exposition that Colonel Twitchell compiled his second voluminous New Mexico publicity volume.. The fine publicity given Santa Fe for years by the A. T. and S. F. Railway Company in the way of beautifully illustrated pamphlets and folders, had its origin and impetus through Colonel Twitchell. One of his last pamphlets was for publicity purposes of the Chamber of Commerce.

Orator and Lecturer

As an orator and lecturer, Colonel Twitchell was much sought. His lectures, "The Man and His Book" and "When Women Built the Temples" were repeatedly given to large audiences. A handsome presence, a sonorous voice and a gift for emphasizing the human interest in history, assured him rapt attention and applause whenever he spoke in public. He illustrated his lectures often with photographs he himself had taken or with pictorial material furnished by the Museum of New Mexico and from his books.

As Historian and Writer

It is as a historian, a writer and a builder, that Colonel Twitchell made his most lasting contribution and by which he will be longest remembered. Quoting from a tribute paid him by Lansing Bloom, Secretary of the Historical Society of New Mexico, at a memorial meeting held in the Palace of the Governors:

"It is a significant fact to know that Colonel Twitchell's first interest in the history of the Southwest grew out of as-

sociation with Adolf Bandelier. . . . In the midst of Bandelier's research in the Southwest, Colonel Twitchell arrived in New Mexico and it was the work on the archives especially, which caught his interest and very possibly it is owing to this fact that we now have these archives at all. In his 'Leading Facts' Twitchell states simply: 'On the 12th of May, 1892, the Capitol Building was destroyed by fire and many public documents were lost. The collection of ancient papers known as the 'Santa Fe Archives' was saved.' The fact (as related by Colonel Twitchell in personal conversation) is that he and one or two others knew exactly where these papers were, went directly there at the time of the fire and carried them to safety. . . . From 1917 down to date, eleven bulletins of the Society have been published and of these eight came from his pen. And other papers, including the catalogs of our collections, which were largely the result of his labor up to the time of his passing, are either ready for the press or nearly so. . . . In 1909 was published his first book, 'The Military Occupation of New Mexico,' and in 1911 appeared the first volume of 'Leading Facts of New Mexico History.' This was followed in 1912 by Volume II, and was later supplemented by three more volumes. In 1914 his two volume work on 'The Spanish Archives of New Mexico' was published, and during the years 1913 to 1916, he successfully carried the historical quarterly 'Old Santa Fe' through three volumes. And shortly before his death his last book 'The Story of Old Santa Fe' came from the press.

"Those who are at all familiar with the sources of Southwestern history can appreciate in some measure the great store of information which is represented by these briefly re-cited facts. To use the phrase of Lummis, Ralph Emerson Twitchell knew the 'story of man' here in the Southwest as few others have done or may hope to do."

It was Twitchell who was most enthusiastic in the maintenance of Santa Fe as "The City Different." The so-called Santa Fe Mission Style of Architecture, found in him its most eloquent advocate although he took sides against those who would pedantically condemn any variation from ancient examples of the Pueblo style of building. He contended that architecture, like art, is the unfolding of the flower of human genius; that unless architecture is progressively alive and

admits of variations, expansion and adaptation to new material, different environment, it is dead and has but academic interest for the student. To prove his theory he remodeled an old non descript building into a beautiful residence that combined a Spanish round tower with Pueblo lines, and modern comforts with Indian decorations. It is there he loved to entertain and it is today one of Santa Fe's show places.

Historical Society

Although a member of the New Mexico Archaeological Society and a valued regent of the Museum of New Mexico as well as member of the managing committee of the School of American Research, it was his interest in the Historical Society of New Mexico that was paramount. Once more quoting Mr. Bloom, Secretary of the Society:

"It seems strange to have to admit that our own records as a Historical Society are very incomplete, but such is the case. Perhaps, it is safe to assume that Colonel Twitchell was elected to membership in the early '90s—the earlier record-books are missing, but his dues were paid in June, 1911. One earlier reference to him is found in the minutebook, when on January 29, 1909, he was elected third vice-president. Here again previous records are very meager, but his election to this office indicates that he had been taking an active part in the work of the Society, probably for some years before. On May 29, 1912, he was elected to life membership, in recognition of valuable gifts, and in subsequent years there were frequent acknowledgments of similar gifts from him. By re-election he was continued in the office of vice-president down to November 14, 1924, when he was elected president of the Society. On March 17, 1919, the office of director was created and Colonel Twitchell was elected to this additional position, the resolution reciting that he 'shall be charged with the duty of auxiliary organization work, the securing and preparation of historical monographs, the collection of manuscripts, their publication and the securing of funds for such purposes and with such additional duties as the Society from time to time, may determine.' Sufficiently comprehensive surely, and yet the resolution only recites lines which he was already actively pursuing."

It was a dream of Colonel Twitchell to correlate the work

of the Society with that of the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research. It was for that reason that he had the collections of the Society arranged and catalogued and that he established an office in the Palace of the Governors in the same room with the Acting Director of the Museum.

Bioliophile and Friend of Art

Colonel Twitchell was a collector of objects of Indian handicrafts ranging from basketry and pottery to Indian fetishes. He picked up a mass of historical material and loved to visit old bookshops and scan book catalogs for works on the Southwest and on Art. He presented to the Museum a collection of books on Art and loaned to it his historical library, maintaining another library at his home. He had an instinct for art and it was due to this that he had Kenneth M. Chapman draw many of the illustrations for his "Leading Facts" and that the pictorial side of his publications always received the minutest care. It was on his order, that the collection of enlargements of portraits of men prominent in New Mexico history was made and, after exhibit at San Diego, given a permanent place in the Palace of the Governors. He also commissioned Gerald Cassidy, the Santa Fe artist, to paint the portraits of Villagr , De Vargas, Kit Carson, etc., for the Historical Society. Strong as was his admiration for the art of men like Cassidy, his disapproval of the modernist school was wellknown. He would have banned their exhibitions from the Museum at Santa Fe. When men like George Bellows, Leon Kroll, B. J. O. Norfeldt and others hung their paintings he literally raged and for a time threatened to resign from the Museum Board. Later he modified his views very much and found especial delight in Robert Henri's "Dieguito" and other examples of the modern schools that did not go to extremes. He bought paintings in a modest way and took great pride in showing them to visitors at his home..

Twitchell, the Man

A man endowed with such abundant vitality was sure to

arouse criticism. He made enemies but he made many more friends for himself and for the State and City he so loved. In friendship he was generous to a fault. He was extremely proud of the esteem of men like Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Hon. Frank Springer, Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, (whom he always fondly called "Old Hewett" although the latter was the younger man), F. W. Hodge and many others. The writer owes him much in the way of kindly encouragement and unselfish loyalty in many undertakings for the advancement of the Museum and the City of the Holy Faith.

Colonel Twitchell was twice married. At St. Joseph, Mo., December 9, 1885, he took as bride, Maragaret Olivia Collins, who fourteen years later was taken from his side by the Grim Reaper. A son Waldo, also named after the Sage of Concord, is at present resident in Los Angeles. During the Great War, Waldo was an officer in the Aviation Service. He is also a University of Michigan man, an engineer, who has taken an important place in the motion picture industry and is the author of scenarios and the librettos for several musical plays. A few years ago, Colonel Twitchell married Estelle Burton, who survives him. She collaborated in the writing of several of his later historical essays and is the author of several papers and biographical sketches that appeared in "Old Santa Fe." Quoting in conclusion from a sketch by the writer, made ten years ago: "Perhaps, the mere enumeration of activities and achievements of a useful citizen who has helped to form public opinion for thirty years in the Southwest, who has made notable contributions to history and literature, who has been brilliantly successful in his profession, who has been a leader in civic and political movements, does not visualize adequately the man as he acts and lives. In the Palace of the Governors, hangs a large portrait of the man, enlarged from a snapshot surreptitiously taken in Westlake Park, Los Angeles. There he appears in all his splendid physical vitality, with the lines in the face that proclaim the man who is living a rounded-out existence, with cleft and firm chin, with thoughtful and determined, yet shrewd, eyes, a man apparently possessed of the

saving grace of humor, a man with imagination, and yet a man who as a lawyer, has learned to weigh evidence, to analyze, to draw conclusions justified only by the facts. Beneath might be written: "He has found happiness where happiness alone can be found, in the appreciation of art, the acquisition of culture and the constant work for the common good.

The elements

So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world: 'This was a man!'"

El Palacio, September 1, 1925.

Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, August 28, 31, September 16, 1925.

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Story of the Conquest of Santa Fé and Building of Old Fort Marcy

Dr. Josiah Gregg, Historian of the Santa Fé Trail

Capt. Don Gáspar Pérez de Villagrà

Palace of the Governors, The City of Santa Fé Its Museums and Monuments

Biennial Report, Historical Society of N. Mex., 1924

The Pueblo Revolt of 1696

Report on the Pueblo Land Grants (unpublished)

MELVIN WHITSON MILLS

A life member of the Historical Society of New Mexico, Melvin Whitson Mills, who died at Springer, Colfax County, on August 19, 1925, had prepared a paper which he was to have read at the meeting of the Society only one evening before the above date. He had been one of the makers of history in the Southwest, having come to the Territory in 1869.

Colonel Mills as he was known to his friends, was born on October 11, 1845, at Sparta, Ontario, Canada, of Quaker parentage. His father and mother were Daniel W. and Hannah Mills. For three years, Colonel Mills attended high school at Adrian, Michigan, and for four years he was a student at the University of Michigan, receiving the degree of LL. B. upon graduation. In that year, stories of gold strikes at Elizabethtown reached Ann Arbor and young Mills made his way to that mining camp the same year. Here he hung out his shingle and also engaged in mining and ranching. The camp at that time had not far from six thousand inhabitants but it soon declined and the county seat was removed to Cimarron, Mills moving with it.

Of those stirring days before the coming of the A. T. and S. F. Railway in which Mills played an important part, thrilling incidents are told in Twitchell's "Leading Facts of New Mexican History" Vol. III, pp. 78 to 83. Colonel Mills was repeatedly sent to the territorial legislature and was instrumental in having the county seat moved to Springer which town he had platted in 1877 with William Thornton, with whose fortunes he was identified until his death. Early days in Springer were not less exciting than they had been in Elizabethtown and Cimarron. For fifteen years prosecuting attorney for the counties of Rio Arriba, Taos, Colfax and Mora, Mills figured in many famous trials. Several times he narrowly escaped mob violence.

Colonel Mills was an expert fruit grower and for years his

orchard was pointed out as one of New Mexico's show places. At Springer, he built a great three story mansion of more than 20 rooms, wonderfully decorated for its day, the interior woodwork being walnut artistically carved. It was his dying wish that he be carried into his old room in this great house, which he had lost through financial reverses. His wish was acceded to, so that his last moments were spent in the house he had loved so well,

In his early days he was associated with Lucien B. Maxwell, founder of The First National Bank of Santa Fe, and at the time of his death, he was in the employ of the Bank looking after its property interests at Springer. Colonel Mills was married on January 6, 1877, to Ella E. House, who survives him, together with the following foster children: Mrs. Hugo Seaberg of Raton; Whitson E. Mills of Denver; Mrs. J. G. Barton of Cleveland, Ohio; and Elsie W. Mills of Springer. A foster daughter, Mrs. George W. White died fourteen years ago in California.

P. A. F. W.

MRS. L. BRADFORD PRINCE

Surviving her noted husband only a few years, Mrs. Mary C. Prince, widow of Former Governor and Chief Justice L. Bradford Prince, gently fell sleep in death on Christmas evening, at the old Prince residence on East Palace, Avenue, which had been her Santa Fe home for 43 years.

Mary Catherine Burekle Beardsley was born at Oswego, New York, on September 4, 1846, the daughter of Colonel Samuel Beardsley of the "Iron Brigade" and his wife, Charlotte Elizabeth Burekle. Her father, who died on the Potomac during the Civil War, traced his ancestry to the Mayflower, while on her mother's side, her line was connected with distinguished ancestors in Germany. Her paternal grandfather was Judge Levi Beardsley of New York.

Mrs. Prince came to Santa Fe as a bride, the second wife of Governor Prince, whom she married on November 17, 1881. Bishop Littlejohn of New York officiating. Her social regime in the Palace was brilliant and until her death she maintained social leadership in Santa Fe. Mrs. Prince held high positions and honors in patriotic societies, such as The Daughters of the American Revolution, and was active in the affairs of The Church of the Holy Faith (Protestant Episcopal).

Among her many interests, the Historical Society of which she was a life member, was always close to her affections, and she not only made many gifts to the Society, but transcribed and translated some of the early Spanish archives. Mrs. Prince was the author of several stories and many papers, most of which were read before The Fifteen Club of Santa Fe, one of her favorite organizations. She was zealous in her endeavors to have New Mexico's historic spots suitably marked, and it was as much due to her efforts, as to those of any one else, that the Santa Fe Trail in New Mexico was given granite



MARY C. PRINCE

markers, the last one of which stands in the Plaza at Santa Fe.

Brief prayers were offered by Bishop Frederick B. Howden at the Prince residence on Sunday afternoon, December 27, after which the remains were taken to Flushing, Long Island, New York, by her son, William B. Prince, and her companion of many years, Miss Sara Hart. Funeral services were held in St. George's Chapel, Flushing, on the last day of the year, interment being at the side of Governor Prince in St. George's Cemetery.

P. A. F. W.

REVIEWS AND EXCHANGES

Mesa, Canon, and Pueblo.

By Charles F. Lummis. (New York, Century Company, 1925, 517 pp., ill., \$4.50)

The announcement of any book by Charles F. Lummis is sufficient to arouse lively anticipations. A new one on the Southwest by him is an event of high importance. Not every book that is called 'epoch making' can succeed in living up to such reputation; but the writings of Charles F. Lummis won that distinction more than a quarter of a century ago— and held it. That fascinating region has been well explored from the time of Coronado, and scientific and historic reports concerning it make sizable libraries. But in literary description of it, Lummis took the lead and has never been overtaken. It is safe to say that he never will be.

The thousands who read his 'Tramp Across the Continent,' 'Land of Poco Tiempo,' 'Some Strange Corners of Our Country,' now superseded by 'Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo,' and a dozen other works that came from his brain in those marvelously prolific days, have found everything else on the Southwest a bit disappointing. No other writer ever gave himself up to it as he did. There was his whole life for many years; and to it he has returned, from time to time, to find it the same inexhaustible source as in the old days.

As a result of his later excursions, there comes this new work, 'Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo,' and one does not need to read far to find that the master is still here. The best of the stories from the old classic, "Some Strange Corners of Our Country," are carried over into the new work, rewritten if there was any need for it. But not much that Lummis ever wrote has needed rewriting. The great amount of new material that has been added brings the book up-to-date and makes it a work that can never be displaced. There are parts

of the world in which no one would travel without a copy of Herodotus or Pausanias, and it will be so to the end of time. Likewise, it will be said of the traveler in the Southwest; he will not be equipped, be it centuries from now, without a copy of this latest book by Lummis, as well as some of the earlier ones.

E. L. H.

Memorial to the Robidoux Brothers

By Orral Messmore Robidoux, (Kansas City, Smith-Greaves Co., 1924. 311 pp., ill., \$5.00,

In the considerable group of French traders, trappers, and merchants who early became identified with New Mexico history were Louis and Antoine Robidoux. "In 1822 Joseph Robidoux of Blacksnake Hills and his two brothers, Antoine and Louis Robidoux, outfitted a caravan, and Antoine and Louis set out for the Southwest country and settled at Santa Fe, and for many years after their freight caravans traversed the plains between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Santa Fe with general merchandise to the Southwest, and buffalo, bear, elk skins and other pelts were transported to the Missouri River points and to St. Louis." "He (Antoine) was one of New Mexico's earliest gold miners, sinking \$8,000.00. He also was interpreter and guide with the Kearny overland column of 1846 to California, where his brother, who had preceded him by two years, was alcalde and juez de paz at San Bernardino."

"Antonio" Robidoux figures in the New Mexico archives as the purchaser at Santa Fe in 1834 of the "cerro del oro" mine; and there are frequent references to these brothers in such New Mexicanas as Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," Bancroft's history, and Twitchell's "Leading Facts."

Such memoirs as are presented in this book are of especial value in the personal interest which they give to history, and the insight into conditions of the times.

L. B. B.

The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849

By Ralph P. Bieber, reprinted from the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XII, No. 3, Dec., 1925.

Epic in its sweep is the story of the Southwestern Trails to California as told by Ralph P. Bieber, of Washington University and a Fellow of the Historical Society of New Mexico. By rather curious coincidence, just after his monograph was written, Mabelle E. Martin published an article on "California Emigrant Roads through Texas," discussing in greater detail the migration that passed through Texas. Both writers rely to considerable extent on diaries, newspapers of the day, and official documents, revealing how much interesting and half-forgotten history may be dug out of old newspaper files and letters. According to Bieber, "approximately 9000 forty-niners, constituting an important element in the early American settlement of California, reached the gold mines by way of southwestern trails." Several of these centered at Santa Fé whence three -- Cooke's wagon road, Kearny's Trail and the old Spanish Trail--gave a choice of roads. Says the author: "The main depot for supplies was Santa Fé, where a number of argonauts bought articles at high prices from merchants who trafficked over the old Santa Fé Trail. Santa Fé was a lawless town in '49. Drinking, gambling, and general rowdiness were the order of the day and night, to the great amazement of those who had been reared in less boisterous surroundings. Many emigrants participated in the local pastime of gambling, with the result that a number were relieved of what little funds they possessed, and a few became so poor 'that they were reduced to the necessity of selling their clothing, or even the likenesses of friends.' The New Mexican towns through which the overlanders traveled were very hospitable and entertained the visitors with fandangoes. These affairs furnished a pleasant and unique diversion for the weary travelers, who were always unstinted in their praise of the graceful dancing of the dark-eyed señoritas.

Most of the emigrants from Arkansas passed the vicinity of Santa Fé between May and August, and reached the gold mines of California in about seven or eight months."

The route of many lay through El Paso or farther south through Durango, Mexico. Speaking of those who passed through Mexico the author says: "Emigrants were delighted with some of the scenery along the way and showed much interest in the quaint customs and habitations of the natives, which were so different in many respects from their own. Some were even induced to remain in the country for a while to aid the inhabitants in their attempt to exterminate several of the warlike Indian tribes. A number of Texans who were thus employed by the state of Chihuahua had a rather unique contract which provided for remuneration on a commission basis, \$200 being paid them for every scalp of Apache Indians over fourteen years of age and \$100 each for all scalps of Apache under this age." No wonder the Apache was implacable in later years when on the warpath against the pale faces!

Says the writer, "Between the latter part of April and the middle of September about twenty-five hundred emigrants from at least ten states left western Missouri for California via the Santa Fe Trail. . . . The argonauts from Missouri passed the vicinity of Santa Fe between July and October, and were treated with the same hospitality by the New Mexican towns in the Rio Grande Valley as were the emigrants from Arkansas who had passed earlier in the year.

"Those who made the best time traveled to the northwest by way of the Great Salt Lake. The trails in this direction began at Santa Fe and Pueblo and extended to the northern route to California, joining it at various points between Fort Laramie and Salt Lake City. One of the most popular of these was the old Spanish trail from Santa Fe to Salt Lake City."

"More extensively traveled than the routes to the northwest were the trails to the southwest along the Gila River. By far the most popular of these was the wagon road made by Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke and his Mormon Battalion between November, 1846, and January, 1847. Leav-

ing the Rio Grande at a point near the present town of Rincon, New Mexico, this road extended to the southwest across the Rio Mimbres and through the Guadalupe Pass to the San Pedro river. . . . Kearny's trail was used by a considerable number of emigrants. Well known to the fur traders ever since the early part of the nineteenth century, it had been followed by Kit Carson when he guided General Stephen W. Kearny and his 'Army of the West' from New Mexico to California between October and December, 1846. It left the Rio Grande a short distance north of the point where Cooke's road began, and proceeded west along the Gila River to the Pima Indian villages, where it was joined by Cooke's road and continued to California. Another trail used by a few emigrants extended west from Albuquerque to Zuñi, and thence southwest to the Gila by way of the valley of the Salt River."

Professor Bieber in the thirty pages of printed matter supplemented by a double page map, tells the story of the 49's with great restraint, there being an avoidance of dramatics and but mere reference to incidents that make the story of the Argonauts one of the most thrilling and dramatic in all history.

P. A. F. W.

The Colorado Magazine of January (1925) has a paper by L. R. Haffen discussing the "Early Mail Service to Colorado, 1858-60." The facts presented are based on sources to which the reader is referred. The relation of the subject to New Mexico is indicated: "The little embryo towns of Auraria and Denver on the South Platte were in the no-man's-land triangle between the two famous highways to the west-the Santa Fe and the Oregon trails. Eight years prior to the discovery of placer gold on the South Platte by W. Green Russell, monthly mail lines had been established from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake City and to Santa Fe respectively." As stated in footnotes, the postal route to Santa Fe was established in 1847, but service on this route was not begun

until 1850. An extended description of this route will be found in "The Overland Mail to the Pacific Coast, 1849-69" which, Dr. Hafen writes, is to be brought out by the A. H. Clark Company in the spring.

The October number of the Missouri Historical Review is notable for several articles covering the earlier periods of the state's history. Among the "Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians" is found one by Daniel M. Grisom on "Sterling Price." He controverts the impression created by eastern newspapers during the Civil War that General Price was uncouth in manner and uneducated. He was "tall and commanding in person, with frank and open features, he possessed a bearing and manners that placed him at ease in any company. He was not an orator, nor debater, but he never rose on any occasion nor in any presence to speak without securing perfect attention. Few men possess, in a higher degree than he possessed, the personal force and authority that subdues a turbulent assembly, and brings it to order." The writer states that General Price, like General Donovan and General Harney, was six feet two inches in height "and it might be said that three finer looking men could not be found in the world." Other articles having New Mexico interest include: "The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri," "Early Gunpowder Making in Missouri," "The Osage War, 1837," "The Warrensburg Speech of Frank P. Blair," and a "Jim Bridger" anecdote, quoted from Adventure Magazine.

Mrs. Cyrus Beard, in Annals of Wyoming for October, in discussing early Wyoming history, gives various data regarding the Sublettes, Jim Bridger, Jedediah Smith, and Capt. Bonneville-- who may be the Col. B. L. E. Bonneville who was in Santa Fe in 1860 and was elected a member of the New Mexico society on Apr. 30th of that year. The notes on changes in prices for beaver skins are of value for comparison.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for June, in the journal of Bishop Kemper, "Trip thru Wisconsin in 1838," gives a brief description of the archaeological site Aztalan and explains the origin of its name.

Minnesota History for June gives a delightful picture of the French Canadian "Voyageur" of a hundred years ago and his part in the fur-trade.

Chronicles of Oklahoma for June has a paper by Grant Foreman on "Early Trails through Oklahoma" which touches New Mexico history at many points.

The Legislation of the forty-first General Assembly of Iowa, which convened early in 1925, is reviewed and analyzed in the October number of the Iowa Journal of History and Politics. Such a review would also be timely in New Mexico, and should be extended not only to the work of the 1925 Legislature, but of all the preceeding sessions since the American Occupation. Jacob A. Swisher, one of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa, which publishes the Journal, is the author of the article.

A letter by Wm. D. Marmaduke written from Dry Digginsville, California October 14, 1849, is published in the Missouri Historical Review. He tells that in the seven weeks since his arrival he had taken out over \$1,000 in gold from the fifteen square feet of ground which are allotted to each miner. He spaks of living being excessively high, and that it is costing him as much as \$9.00 a week, with pork at fifty cents a pound, flour twenty-five to thirty cents a pound, mackerel fifty cents per piece, onions two cents an ounce and Irish potatoes at two dollars a bushel.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

If any reasons are needed for the launching of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, they may be found in the importance of the field, in the source material available, and in the interest of research students in this part of the Southwest.

New Mexico is the meeting ground of three distinct cultures. For nearly four hundred years, the native Indian and the Spanish-American cultures have lived side by side; and for more than a hundred years the Anglo-American culture has played its part also, the integrity of each having maintained itself and each of the three reacting on the others in many significant ways. This fact alone suggests many fascinating lines of study, and in such study historical research has an important part.

As to source material, that part of the Spanish and Mexican archives of New Mexico which was removed twenty-three years ago to the Library of Congress is again in Santa Fe, where the archives relating to land-grants have always remained. The important libraries of the School of American Research and the Historical Society are receiving accessions of manuscripts and New Mexicana. The records and papers of several state departments have supplied valuable material, and others are available.

An increasing number of research students is coming to Santa Fe for work, and others have been furnished transcripts and photostat copies. The REVIEW is intended to serve as a medium of publication for these students and for the general reader in Southwestern history. Since the suspension of OLD SANTA FE, shortly before the war, monographs, translations, and miscellaneous papers have accumulated and the REVIEW will publish these as fast as possible.

Many gratifying expressions of approval and good wishes have answered the announcement of the REVIEW. From Los

Angeles, Charles F. Lummis writes: "I am very glad to learn of the Review. That is a worthy field and a rich one." Prof. Etienne B. Renaud, University of Denver, says, "your program is very interesting and of great educative value. . . This will be a true contribution both to the Southwest and to History." From Prof. R. P. Bieber, Washington University, comes the word, "I want to congratulate you upon inaugurating the REVIEW and allied publications. . . . A publication of this kind fills a gap which has long been felt by students of New Mexican history. I shall be very glad to cooperate with you in any way." Frederick W. Hodge writes from New York, "No organization devoted to similar purposes has a wider or more attractive field . . . I wish it every success." Prof. H. E. Bolton, University of California, says, "I had already learned with delight of the birth of the REVIEW. We certainly need such an organ. I congratulate you."

These and similar expressions are sincerely appreciated by the editors, as well as the large response in subscriptions. And the annual membership of the Society has nearly doubled since the first announcement of the REVIEW.

The quarterly is being published on the Museum Press, where a new linotype machine will be in service before the next issue. This will allow greater flexibility in the proper handling of source material and annotations. Features of the April number will include Fray Marcos de Niza's "Relacion," edited by Prof. P. M. Baldwin, State College, N. Mex., and "Po-se," a tale of San Ildefonso pueblo forty years ago, left in manuscript by Adolph F. Bandelier.

L. B. B.

Anent the proceedings of the first American court in Taos as presented by F. T. Cheetham in this issue, Mr. Benj. M. Read gives the following passage from a letter in his possession, dated April 12, 1847, from Father Antonio Jose Martinez to Don Manuel Alvarez in Santa Fe:

"The Judge of crimes, Don Carlos Beaubien, and his associates are endeavoring to kill all the people of Taos. On the

First day they sentenced six and these were hanged the third day; the second day nine were sentenced to death but their execution has been delayed until the arrival of reinforcements asked for by the Colonel, he fearing a disturbance or a revolt by the people. . . . I am sending by the bearer of this letter a detailed report of what is taking place at Taos to Colonel Price and beg of you to take charge of, and make presentation of, said report to Colonel Price."

CONTRIBUTORS

Frank H. H. Roberts. -- educator, author, lecturer; B. Pd., A. M., Ph. D., LL. D., formerly connected with schools and higher institutions of Ohio, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico; 1910-21, president of N. M. Normal University; since 1921 president Junior College, El Paso, Texas. Author of numerous books and articles in educational and political journals. Active in work of the Y. M. C. A. and the Methodist Church; Rotarian.

Francis T. Cheetham. -- attorney at law, Taos N. Mex. Research student in New Mexico history, with especial reference to Kit Carson and the Taos Valley; vice-president Historical Society of N. M.; member committee on Masonic history and research, Grand Lodge of N. Mex., A. F. and A. M.

George P. Hammond. -- M. A. and Ph. D. (Univ. of Calif.); for two years, faculty member, Univ. of N. Dakota; 1922-23, fellow of "Native Sons of the Golden West" in Pacific Coast History; now ass't professor of history, Univ. of Arizona. Author of various articles and reviews in the "North Dakota Quarterly" and the "Southwestern Historical Quarterly."

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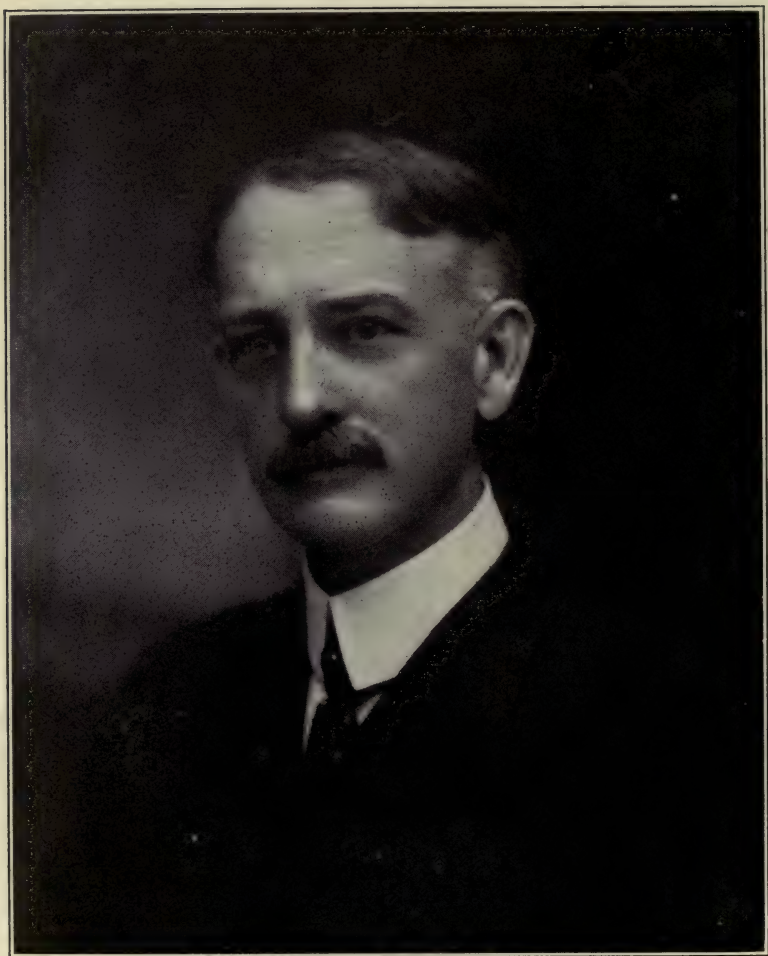
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CHARLES SPRINGER

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. I.

April, 1926

No. 2

NEW MEXICO IN THE GREAT WAR

III The State Council of Defense

New Mexico responded quickly and willingly to the nation's call for the mobilization and use of its resources to prepare for and maintain the public defense and to assist in the prosecution of the war against Germany. Immediately following the issuance of the declaration of war against Germany, Governor Washington E. Lindsey summoned a group of representative citizens to convene at the state capitol as a council, to discuss ways and means of preparing New Mexico to fully meet the emergencies and requirements of war. The council convened in Santa Fe on April 21st, 1917. Governor Lindsey, presiding, briefly reviewed the war situation and prophetically summarized the things that the citizens of the state would be called upon to do to provide for state and national security and to aid the entente allies. A state of war existed! New Mexico would perform its full duty. The conviction was expressed by members of the conference that sooner or later the United States would be obliged to tax its resources to the utmost and wage an offensive war in order effectively to protect our country and conquer Germany. There was no debate, no dissenting opinions. The council appointed a committee, with Edward C. Crampton, of Raton, as its chairman, to formulate plans and make recommendations for the designation and organization of a permanent war body. On the same day the committee, reporting back

to the council, recommended, among other things, that a permanent "War Committee" be formed, consisting of one member from each judicial district of the state and four members at-large, to be appointed by the governor, with the governor as ex-officio member of the committee; that the committee should take immediate steps to organize the agricultural resources of the state for a greater production of food stuffs and to provide for the economic and military defense of the state and nation; that the governor, in his discretion, should call a special session of the legislature to provide the means for carrying out the war program, and that the War Committee, as soon as appointed, should immediately organize and remain in session from day to day until every requirement had been met. These and other recommendations of the committee were unanimously adopted by the council. Immediately after the adjournment of the council, Governor Lindsely appointed the following war committee: Charles Springer, Cimarron; C. R. Brice, Roswell; E. C. Crampton, Raton; Ed. M. Otero, Los Lunas; B. C. Hernandez, Tierra Amarilla; R. E. Putney, Albuquerque; Jose Gonzales, Las Cruces; W. A. Hawkins, Three Rivers; Secudino Romero, Las Vegas; Rafael Garcia, Albuquerque; J. M. Sully, Santa Rita; and Eufracio Gallegos of Gallegos.

The war committee, selecting E. C. Crampton as its permanent chairman and Miss Edith Wileman as its temporary secretary, was formally organized on April 25th. At this meeting, Neil B. Field, of Albuquerque, presented the following resolution adopted at a public meeting of the citizens of that city favoring the calling of a special session of the legislature:

"BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this meeting that the governor should be requested to call immediately an extra session of the legislature to pass all such laws as may be necessary to mobilize the resources of the state for the present emergency and the raising of such funds as may be required for that purpose."

The committee considering the resolution in connection with its own information declared that public necessity required early enactment of war measures and adopted and addressed the following resolution to Governor Lindsey:

"That it be the sense of this committee that the governor be requested to call a special session of the legislature immediately, and the work of the session be confined to the matter of economic agriculture and military offensive and defensive operations of the state and nation growing out of the present emergency."

On the following day, April 26th, Governor Lindsey issued his proclamation calling the Third State Legislature to meet in special session on Tuesday, May 1st, 1917, to enact such legislation as would enable New Mexico to "provide for its own defense and to assist the United States in the prosecution of the war."

The War Committee continued to meet daily until it was succeeded by the State Council of Defense. In addition to considering many important matters and taking appropriate action concerning them, the War Committee appointed auxiliary committees in each county, secured valuable information regarding the agricultural and industrial resources of the state, considered and recommended measures to the governor for the public defense and offered suggestions for emergency legislation. Upon the passage and approval of the Public Defense Act, May 8th, 1917, the War Committee was dissolved.

The Third Legislature met in extraordinary session on May 1st, 1917. Among other laws enacted was the Public Defense Act, passed and approved on May 8th, which created the Council of Defense of New Mexico consisting of nine members to be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to serve during the period of the war, and for such further time thereafter as the governor deemed necessary. The act appropriated the sum of \$750,000.00, or so much thereof as might be required, to be expended and disbursed by and under the direction of the governor in such manner and for such

purposes, and through such agencies, and under such regulations, as he might deem necessary or proper to provide for the increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and to provide for the public defense. The act provided that the funds appropriated should be raised by the issuance and sale of war certificates from time to time in such amounts as the governor might determine.

Immediately following his approval of the Defense Act on May 8th, the governor appointed the following to membership on the Council of Defense: B. C. Hernandez, C. R. Brice, Charles Springer, W. A. Hawkins, Secundino Romero, Rafael Garcia, J. M. Sully, Eufracio Gallegos and R. E. Putney.

These appointments were promptly confirmed by the senate on the same day. It will be noted that all of the members of the Council of Defense had served on the War Committee. On May 10th Secundino Romero was elected chairman of the Council and Phil. H. LeNoir its general secretary.

It will be seen that New Mexico had held a special session of its legislature and had organized an official war body, all within the space of thirty-five days and during that period had done many things to place the state upon a war footing.

Mr. Putney and Mr. Garcia, sheriff of Bernalillo County, both resigned shortly after the organization of the Council because of other public and private demands upon their time. Eduardo M. Otero succeeded Mr. Putney through appointment by the governor, but the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sheriff Garcia was never filled.

Mr. LeNoir, general secretary, compelled to give up his work on account of ill health, resigned the secretaryship in October, 1917. Mr. LeNoir rendered very efficient service, especially in organizing the Conference of War Workers held at Albuquerque during the week of October 7th, 1917. So far as known this was the first state-wide war

conference held in the United States. Following his resignation in October, the present writer, Walter M. Danburg, was elected general secretary of the Council.

With the exception of the changes noted the personnel of the Council remained the same throughout its existence.

Following its organization the Council adopted comprehensive plans for increasing production of food crops and acted upon many other matters, including the mobilization of the New Mexico National Guard.

It early became evident that all members of the council could not remain at Santa Fe. Upon request of the members the governor appointed an executive committee composed of Charles Springer, chairman, B. C. Hernandez and C. R. Brice. The executive committee was clothed with all of the powers of the Council and authorized to act and discharge the duties imposed during the interim between meetings of the Council.

Although the members of the Council were often consulted by the executive committee and the writer concerning various phases of the war work, they never met in regular session after the appointment of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, however, was in session almost continuously during the war emergency, and thereafter as often as the business of the Council required until its voluntary dissolution in the fall of 1920. Judge C. R. Brice was appointed disbursing agent for the disbursement of the "War Fund" under the direction of the Council of Defense and its Executive Committee. The Council of Defense and the Executive Committee were designated by the governor as the chief agencies for carrying out the provisions of chapters III and V of the acts passed by the legislature at its special session.

At one stroke of the pen Governor Lindsey made it possible to coordinate and systematize the state's war activities.

By an act of congress the State Council of Defense and the county and community councils of defense became official auxiliaries to the National Council of Defense for

carrying out its instructions and suggestions and the orders of the president in all matters pertaining to the efficient prosecution of the war.

For its own complex tasks, and in order to co-operate effectively with the government through the National Council of Defense and all other accredited agencies engaged in war and relief work, the State Council developed auxiliary organizations and appointed committees and agents throughout the state. County councils of defense were organized at an early date. Financial agents were appointed throughout the state to handle the Council's agricultural activities in the sale and distribution of seed at cost on both a cash and credit plan. Later by the National Council of Defense county councils of defense were asked to organize community councils in every school district or other proper district within their respective counties. Previous to that time the New Mexico Council had caused war committees to be organized in many of the school districts of various counties. In such cases the personnel and business of war committees was practically the same as prescribed by the National Council for the Community Councils. Merely changing the name of these subsidiary units gave our state an early lead in the organization of Community Councils.

The work of the county councils, community councils, local committees and agents, was carried on in every county of the state by volunteers who served without pay. In addition to the specific work laid upon them by the Council, these volunteers were in most instances the local representatives, organizers and workers for Liberty Loans, War Savings, Food and Fuel Conservation and Production, the Red Cross and other war relief undertakings. The splendid record credited to New Mexico in respect to all matters pertaining to the war speaks more eloquently for the many men and women who gave of their time without stint than any words I might set down speaking of their sacrifices and accomplishments. The records show that the people of New Mexico over-subscribed every Liberty

Loan quota and that the quotas for Red Cross, Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A. and other accredited war relief organizations also received large over-subscriptions. In the record in other directions especially in the matter of the state's contribution to the military and naval forces of the United States, a still greater testimonial to the loyalty of the people of New Mexico will be found. For over sixty years the people of New Mexico sought to gain admission to the Union for their territory, but it was not until 1912 that New Mexico was admitted to statehood, just a scant five years prior to war being declared against Germany by the United States.

As the council's war activities increased it was found necessary to appoint certain committees and create certain departments and bureaus with state-wide jurisdiction. With one or two exceptions the various chairmen and directors served without pay. It is impossible to cover all of the activities of the Council of Defense and its various departments and auxiliary and subsidiary committees within the pages of this short review or to mention the names of all of the many persons who contributed to the success of the many undertakings. Brief reference, however, to these committees, bureaus and departments in the order of their creation will give some idea as to the scope and magnitude of the emergency activities.

The Woman's Committee

The Woman's Auxiliary of the Council of Defense, as it was known in the first instance, was organized May 5th, 1917, when women delegates appointed by the War Committees from the various counties met at Santa Fe during the special session of the legislature. Mrs. W. E. Lindsey was named chairman of the Auxiliary. The women quickly effected a state-wide organization with precinct and county chairmen. The Auxiliary was organized and functioning before the complete organization of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense. Early in 1918 the Auxiliary was reorganized under the name of the "Wo-

man's Committee" and otherwise made to conform more closely to the scheme of organization and work finally prescribed by the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense. Matters of organization, including the personnel of the committee, its activities and accomplishments are reviewed in a separate chapter and such matter will not be detailed here. It should be said, however, that the Woman's Committee and the women of the state under its leadership contributed in service and accomplishment in a very large way to New Mexico's splendid war record. In a number of instances the committee and its auxiliary organizations achieved notable results and surpassed the records made by similar organizations in some of the older and more densely populated states. Did space permit mention would be made of the exceptional services rendered by many women throughout the state and credit would be given to many of the women of the Woman's Committee who worked continuously and faithfully throughout the emergency without monetary remuneration and who performed extraordinary services. A large share of the credit for the accomplishments of the auxiliary and the committee should go to the late Mrs. W. E. Lindsey, wife of our war governor. Under her leadership New Mexico was probably the first state to perfect a woman's state-wide organization. Despite her duties as First Lady of the State and despite the handicap of ill health, which caused her to relinquish the chairmanship of the committee at the time of its reorganization, she kept in constant touch with the work of the committee and assisted in directing its affairs. During the three strenuous months or more preceeding the signing of the Armistice, Mrs. Lindsey was in active charge of the work and affairs of the Woman's Committee owing to the absence of the chairman from the state.

Publicity Department

The publicity department of the Council was created May 22, 1917, with Guthrie Smith as director. Through this department, with Mr. Smith as editor, was published

the *New Mexico War News*, issued weekly for the purpose of keeping the war-workers and the public informed as to all war activities including the work of the State and National Councils of Defense. In addition to the publicity work of the council, the publicity department conducted the publicity campaigns in New Mexico for the Council of National Defense, the United States Shipping Board, the Provost Marshal General's office, the United States Public Service Reserve and the United States Boy's Working Reserve. On July 15, 1918, the department commenced the publication of a Spanish edition of the *War News*, with Senator A. V. Lucero as its editor. The Spanish edition was sent to those who did not read English readily and reached a large number of persons who did not regularly read any newspaper. The publicity department rendered a distinctive service and was highly complimented by the officials in charge of the various departments at Washington for its effective support and work. The *War News* came into national prominence by reason of the council's campaign against the Hearst publications. The council had been instructed to watch carefully all newspapers which had been disloyal or pro-German before the United States entered the war and those suspected of exerting a bad influence over our citizens in connection with the prosecution of the war. Articles that had appeared in some of the Hearst papers were republished in the *War News* in connection with some of the facts relating to the asserted disloyalty of the Hearst papers and the news dealers and people were asked not to purchase, sell or read such papers. News dealers in many sections of the state discontinued the sale of the Hearst papers and publications. In some way the phrase "Hearst Publications" crept into the publicity and as a result the International Magazine Company, a purported Hearst publishing concern sought to enjoin the members of the council of defense, the governor, the attorney general, Guthrie Smith, the writer and others from doing anything further in pursuance of an alleged "unlawful scheme and purpose" to injure the business of the Magazine Company

in the sale of the magazines published by it. None of the Hearst newspaper concerns were parties to the court action or made any attempt to justify their policy pursued in relation to the war or to prevent the council's activities, other than might be inferred from the action of the Magazine Company. The Magazine Company probably had good reason to complain and secured a temporary injunction against the defendants in the United States Court. The council members and other defendants appealed from the decision granting the temporary writ to the Circuit Court of Appeals. Before the matter came up for hearing the war ended and neither the company nor the council took any further notice of the matter.

The publication of the *War News* was discontinued immediately after the signing of the armistice.

Agricultural Operations

The most serious problem confronting the state was that of increasing the production of the more important food crops. New Mexico farmers were producing only about fifty per centum of the staple food products, other than meat, required for home consumption. After a careful survey of the state the conclusion was reached that certain crops, notably wheat, pinto beans and corn could be raised successfully in many sections upon lands used almost wholly for grazing purposes. In some localities it was felt that dry farming operations had failed principally through the lack of proper soil treatment and cultivation and the planting of crops unsuited to the soil and climatic conditions. The council lost no time in perfecting plans to stimulate and increase the production of food crops. Working in co-operation with the Extension (farm) Service of the New Mexico College of Agriculture, the council soon had many agencies at work in the agricultural field. Eleven counties had agricultural agents or farm experts. Governor Lindsey authorized the expenditure of \$35,000 for the employment of agricultural agents in the other seventeen

counties and such agents were quickly employed. This step was more than justified for within a year increased production, improved farming methods and greater interest in agricultural pursuits were plainly visible.

It was determined that the money available for farming operations could best be used for purchasing selected seed and selling it to farmers at cost for cash, or on credit in those cases where the farmer could not otherwise secure seed. In this connection the council secured from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, services of an expert seed man, Mr. Roland Harwell, who selected practically all of the seed purchased and distributed by the agents of the council. Many car loads of seed wheat, oats, rye, barley, beans, kafir corn, cane and potatoes were purchased and distributed. A total of \$131,208.40 was paid out of the War fund for this purpose. No money was loaned to any person for any purpose. \$80,000. or more had been repaid to the state when the council turned its affairs over to the state when the council turned its affairs over to the state auditor in 1920. Notes and mortgages were turned over to the auditor to cover the greater portion of the balance remaining unpaid.

That the effort to increase production was successful is best evidenced by the figures of the U. S. Bureau of Crop Estimates. In 1916 the production of wheat totaled 2,104,000 bushels on 113,000 acres. In 1919 the state produced 6,100,000 bushels of wheat on 283,000 acres. The production of corn was also increased, the state being credited with a 7,000,000 bushel production in 1919.

The increase in wheat and bean production was largely due to the planting of winter wheat, and beans, in the dry farm sections. Over 60% of the 1919 wheat crop was produced on the so called dry farms, and 77% of the total bean crop was produced on similar lands. The total crop value in New Mexico in 1918 was given as \$37,644,000. The 1919 total value came to \$58,362,000., or an increase of over \$20,000,000.

It is noteworthy in this connection that 85% or more

of the total production of wheat and beans during 1919 is credited by the Bureau of Crop Estimates to those counties that received 85% of the seed sold and distributed by the council on the credit-sales plan.

As a part of its agricultural program the Council, in co-operation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, conducted an extensive campaign for the extermination of noxious rodents and predatory wild animals. The co-operative campaign against predatory animals was commenced in February, 1918, and the campaign against the noxious rodents in April, 1918. The expenses for this work were shared equally by the council and the federal government. The results obtained were so satisfactory upon completion, December 31, 1919, of the work called for under the co-operative agreement, that the Fourth Legislature made provision for the continuance of the co-operative work, and authorized the expenditure of \$50,000. by the council for such purpose, the work to be continued and carried on by the State College and the U. S. Biological Survey. The detailed reports concerning these activities cover a number of pages in the council's final report. Mr. S. E. Piper, of the U. S. Biological Survey, was in charge of predatory animal control operations, and Mr. Charles F. Bliss, biological assistant, was in charge of rodent pest repression. Their work was efficient and highly commendable.

Military Operations

When war was declared, April 6th, 1917, the state faced an unusual situation. The New Mexico National Guard had just been mustered out, upon its return from the Mexican border where it had been in active service for some eighteen months. National Guard appropriations had been exhausted and funds were lacking for reorganization and recruiting purposes, and camp facilities and equipment were lacking. When the Guard was called into federal service again, on April 21, 1917, the actual strength of the Guard, including Battery "A," was 49 officers and 39 enlisted men. Recruiting the Guard up to war strength was

first undertaken by the War Department. The recruiting work progressed so slowly, however, that the regular army officers seriously considered abandonment of the attempt and the mustering out of those already recruited. In this emergency Governor Lindsey, upon the recommendation of the Council of Defense, ordered Adjutant General James Baca to undertake the recruiting work. The council was authorized to pay the expenses of recruiting and mobilization. The recruiting progressed rapidly under the direction of Adjutant General Baca and the First Infantry Regiment and Battery "A" were quickly brought up to war strength.

It was then found that the mobilization and training camps to be provided by the national government would not be ready for several months. Again the council acted. Governor Lindsey authorized it to proceed to construct and equip a complete training camp at Albuquerque. The cantonments and other buildings were rapidly constructed and the New Mexico National Guard was mobilized at Albuquerque about June 1, 1917, and was given intensive training for four and one-half months. Battery "A" went to Camp Greene, North Carolina, and soon left for France where it figured prominently in the allied offensive known as the second battle of the Marne. It was one of the batteries that fired the opening guns at Chateau-Thierry and was cited for exceptional and effective service. The Infantry Regiment, under Col. E. C. Abbott, was sent from Albuquerque to Camp Kearny, California, where it became a part of the 40th Division and finally saw service in France.

The New Mexico State College, the Roswell Military Institute and the State University were called upon by the War Department to provide training for enlisted men in technical and mechanical branches and to provide facilities for training recruits in the Student Army. Governor Lindsey was determined that New Mexico should make good in very branch of war work and he authorized the Council of Defense to construct necessary quarters at the State Col-

lege for the housing of 210 soldiers and to purchase required equipment. Appropriations were also made to the Military Institute and to the University to provide proper facilities for their work.

New Mexico took the lead in other work of a military character and was the first state to undertake medical and hospital treatment for discharged soldiers, until such time as the federal government might provide for their care. Another operation of the council was the selection of legal advisory boards, working through the county councils to aid in the enforcement of the selective service law. A legal committee, composed of Ira L. Grimshaw, Levi A. Hughes, Benjamin M. Read, J. O. Seth and Charles Springer was appointed, and in turn local county legal committees were selected, to give advice and assistance to persons called for military service and dependents and relatives of soldiers and sailors. A legal booklet prepared by Mr. Grimshaw for the use of the committees was issued. These committees under direction of the state legal committee gave free advice to registrants as to their affairs and legal rights, and to soldiers' and sailors' dependents regarding insurance, allotments, allowances and compensation matters. Many cases were referred to the Council of Defense and satisfactorily disposed of.

The council also created a medical department, with Dr. J. A. Massie of Santa Fe as director. This department under the direction of Dr. Massie and with the assistance of Dr. J. W. Elder, capt. Med. Corps and medical aide to the governor, rendered most valuable service. The results obtained by the department caused the legislature to create a permanent State Health and Welfare Department.

Historical Service Department

A Board of Historical Service, consisting of Edgar L. Hewett, Benjamin M. Read and Col R. E. Twitchell, with Lansing B. Bloom as executive secretary, was appointed at an early date, to arrange and preserve all facts and records relating to the services and activities of our citizens in con-

nection with the war, including a complete record of the services of every New Mexico soldier. The results of its work are shown in part in a separate chapter.

Speakers' Bureau

The speakers' bureau of the Council consisted of fourteen members, with Col. R. E. Twitchell as its chairman and director. The first work undertaken by the bureau was in connection with the recruiting of the New Mexico National Guard, and in this work Colonel Twitchell, speaking throughout the state and otherwise assisting the council, Adjutant General Baca, Captain Edward L. Safford, and others, rendered exceptional service. In 1918 the Bureau was consolidated with the Four Minute Men's organization and Mr Laurence F. Lee, chairman of that body, succeeded Colonel Twitchell as chairman of the bureau. The effective work of the Speakers' Bureau, which includes the Four Minute Men, is reflected in the results obtained in all drives for funds and the increasing ease with which all work was being accomplished as the war progressed.

Department of Education and Labor

Jonathan H. Wagner, state superintendent of public instruction, directed the affairs of this department. He was also federal state director of the Public Service Reserve and of the Boys' Working Reserve. New Mexico was one of the first states in the union to register and exceed its quota of workmen for the shipyards. This department organized the community war labor boards. Through it the National Council's educational program was carried out in New Mexico. The state legislature took cognizance of the effective work done by Mr. Wagner and his co-workers and continued some of the department's activities for an indefinite period.

The council had other committees, including the Highways Transport committee, with five district chairmen and a director, George S. Singleton of Clovis; and the Motor

Minute Men's organization whose members volunteered the use of their cars and their services for any and all war work.

On account of the disturbed conditions along the Mexican border during 1918, and in order to give proper protection to life and property, it was found necessary to re-establish the New Mexico Mounted Police. Under rules and regulations prescribed by the committee on State Police, composed of Charles Springer, Victor Culberson and Charles Ballard, the Mounted Police consisted of Captain Herbert McGrath of Silver City, two sergeants and fourteen paid privates, its operations being directed from the council headquarters. The police were paid from the war fund and served from May 1, 1918, to December 31, 1918, when the force was disbanded. On January 2nd, 1919, the force was reestablished by Governor Larrazolo and the Council of Defense was directed to continue to pay the salaries and expenses of the organization. The 1919 legislature made the force permanent and provided funds for its maintenance, but the force was abolished in 1921. During 1918 the police performed very valuable service to the state and nation.

Of the \$750,000 war certificates authorized to be issued, only \$370,000 thereof were issued and sold. The total war debt of the state therefore amounted to \$370,000. Under the policy followed by the council and the governor short term certificates only were issued, and on May 1st, 1921, all of the certificates so issued had been redeemed and cancelled, thus wiping out New Mexico's war debt.

Under the provisions of the Public Defense Act, and amendments thereof, the Council of Defense was to continue its work until peace should be formally declared by the United States. At the time of the signing of the Armistice and thereafter, the council by reason of legislative action was engaged in winding up certain of its activities and at the same time continuing certain activities delegated to it. Provision had been made to transfer any and all unfinished business to the state auditor at such time as the

council's term expired. Early in May, 1920, it appeared that it might be some time before peace would be formally declared and it was thought advisable to discontinue the Council. In order to do this the Executive Committee authorized its secretary to ask the members of the council to resign. Acceptance of the resignations by the governor would naturally accomplished the desired result. The final reports of the council and of its disbursing agent were prepared and filed with the governor as of May 31, 1920. The members of the council submitted their resignations, and upon their acceptance, the council turned over its business and records to the state auditor.

No one ever need apologize for New Mexico's war record. Measured by the standards of wealth, population and responsiveness, its record equalled that of any state in the union and in instances its contribution to the cause exceeded that of many of the other states. In the matter of voluntary enlistments in the army and navy, New Mexico stood fifth among the states. Over 17,000 of her sons served in the various branches of the military service. Twenty-one per centum of the state's physicians were in active service. Every quota, whether for men or money, was exceeded. Every call was answered quickly. There was not a single disturbance or strike of the slightest importance during the emergency. If trouble seemed to be brewing, the situation was promptly and effectively handled by the officers of the council or its agents acting under specific instructions.

Governor W. E. Lindsey cooperated with the Council of Defense in every possible way. His absolute honesty and devotion to the duties of his office and the fidelity with which he served the people reflected great credit upon his administration.

During every emergency some strong man is found to direct the important undertakings. New Mexico had its strong man, a man of unusual patience and wisdom; one whose courage never faltered in any situation. He could pour oil upon troubled waters with greater facility and ef-

fectiveness than any man I ever met. He was tolerant to a fault of other men's deficiencies. The aggressive side of his character is tempered with an unusual gentleness. His sincerity and unquestionable integrity, his accomplishments and services rendered to the state without financial reward, easily stamp him as New Mexico's most useful citizen. I refer to Charles Springer of Cimarron who was chairman of the council's executive committee and to whom the credit belongs for the work and accomplishments of the state draft board, chairman of the state highway commission, and the directing head of other activities. He discharged all of his various duties with fidelity and with marked success. Always interested in everything that affects the welfare of the people of the state, Mr. Springer finds time somehow to help in a practical and effective way, and I know of no man in the state who has rendered more unselfish service than he.

WALTER M. DANBURG

IV Civilian Activities

By civilian war activities are meant the activities of individuals, institutions, and agencies outside of the military organization. In a sense the "Great War" was a civilians' war in that practically all New Mexicans who did military service were in civilian pursuits previously. The greatest civilian activity of the war was the bearing of arms by civilians. But apart from those under arms, civilians performed exploits of almost incredible multiplicity and magnitude. From the national organization down to the most remotely isolated cabin there developed a close bond of understanding and cooperation in the mighty undertaking of "winning the war" for the freedom of the world. This was brought about through the Councils of Defense, national, state, county, and community, representing a splendid achievement of civilian enterprise, an achievement which requires a separate chapter for adequate treatment. Let it be noted here, however, that the State Council of Defense

for New Mexico has stood in the van of similar state organizations in supervising and stimulating with such signal success the numberless activities which it initiated.

It is not our purpose in this chapter to speak of the efforts of the splendid women of the state, although their work comes under the general head of civilian activities under whatever form it was carried on. The remarkable assistance rendered by newspapers, industrial and other concerns, and by institutions, public and private, can be merely mentioned as part of the sum total of civilian effort. While these agencies are treated in other chapters of this volume, it is difficult not to remark upon the evidence, found everywhere, of the spirit of Kipling's lines:

"It aint the guns nor armament, for funds that they can pay,
But the close cooperation that makes them win the day,
It aint the individual, nor the army as a whole
But the everlasting teamwork of every blooming soul."

The story can in fact, be told only in outline. Here and there a name may be mentioned, but the list of patriotic men and women who contributed to the success of our great adventure, must be elsewhere permanently recorded. The story begins with the organization of the Red Cross work in the spring of 1915, and this was the only form of activity carried on until the stage was set for the entrance of the United States in the final scene. Then representative men of the state visited the East and brought back those urgent messages that set the people of New Mexico to their heroic task.

During the war, New Mexico selected more than fifteen thousand of its best young men for active military service. The remarkable feature of this selection is that the machinery was almost entirely civilian. In charge of the selective draft was Captain R. C. Reid acting at first for Adjutant General James E. Baca and later as draft executive, with a medical advisor also holding a captain's commission. The state was organized into two districts, the

northern and the southern, each under an exemption board. In each county at first, the county sheriff, the county clerk, and three other civilians had supervision over the selection with powers of exemption. Later the number of members on the local board was reduced to three. Under the regulations issued by the provost marshal-general, medical, dental, and legal advisory boards usually of three members each were organized to aid the county draft boards in their work. In each county a lawyer was appointed to act for those appealing for exemption. Every doctor, dentist, and lawyer in the community, however, was asked to assist in the work of selecting our soldiers from those registering on June 5, 1917, and June 5, August 24, and September 12, of 1918. The entire cost of the selective draft in New Mexico was about \$80,000. or approximately one dollar per registrant. This low cost was brought about by the fact that, in most of the counties, the members of the various boards made no claims, or very moderate claims, for reimbursement. With infinite patience and strict honesty, as well as incalculable sacrifice of time and effort, these men have served their state and nation beyond our power to fully appreciate.

The Y. M. C. A. campaign for \$30,000. was in charge of Ralph E. Twitchell and was initiated at Santa Fe with a banquet attended by one hundred and fifty representative men. On that occasion alone \$2,500 was pledged. The campaign was carried on vigorously throughout the various counties with the result that the state's quota of \$30,000, was exceeded by \$30,603, making the total \$60,603, double the quota. In this connection mention should be made of the Y. W. C. A. campaign in 1917, when there was subscribed approximately \$5,000. The subscriptions were practically all secured from women, the "drive" being in charge of local Y. W. C. A. organizations and the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

In August 1918, the Knights of Columbus initiated a campaign for war funds. A remarkable banquet was held in the historic De Vargas Hotel in the city of the Holy Faith

at which men were present representing all religious beliefs, and addresses were made by an Episcopal rector, a Methodist minister, and a Jew, as well as by Roman Catholics. As a result the sum of \$4,000 was pledged, a part of which was later included in the amount raised in the United War Work campaign. In the whole state, the pledges reached a total of \$20,000. The Knights of Columbus' drive was under the direction of Honorable E. P. Davis who labored even more earnestly when the movement was merged with those of six other organizations.

The Salvation Army drive came July 24, 25, 1918. In New Mexico, the campaign was in charge of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Mr. P. A. Lineau, Exalted Ruler of the Santa Fe Lodge and Deputy State Insurance Commissioner, being the state chairman. The usual thorough preparation was made to meet the state's quota of \$18,000 and again New Mexico went beyond the mark with subscriptions aggregating \$24,623.72 exceeding the quota by 37 per cent.

The United War Work Campaign began September first, 1918, under the direction of S. J. Brient of El Paso. In the campaign, seven organizations worked harmoniously, each with a representative from the state at large, as follows: Young Men's Christian Association, George A. Kaseman, Albuquerque; Young Women's Christian Association, Mrs. F. W. Parker, Santa Fe; National Catholic War Council, E. P. Davies, Santa Fe; Jewish Welfare Board, Alfred Grunsfeld, Albuquerque; War Camp Community Service, E. T. Chase, Albuquerque; American Library Association, Evelyn Schuler, Raton; Salvation Army, T. J. Mabry, Albuquerque. At the head of this committee was R. E. Twitchell, who gave himself whole heartedly to the work of inspiration and leadership in all civilian activities. At a conference held at Albuquerque on September 19, 1918, practically every county was represented and plans were well laid with a view to an effective campaign. The quota for the state of \$204,600 was accepted. The organization was complete and reached into practically

every community in the state. The state was divided into six districts with a director and a chairman for each. Each county also had its chairman and there was besides an advisory committee of one hundred members. The campaign was directed along several lines of endeavor including the following divisions: The Boys and Girls Earn and Give Clubs; Student work; Women's organizations; Spanish speaking communities; Indians (Zuñi, Navajo, Apache, Mescalero, and Pueblo); Speakers Bureau. The drive began on November 11, 1918, the day of the signing of the armistice, and in spite of difficulties and handicaps it established a record of which our state may indeed be proud. According to reports, 3,584 boys gave \$5,320 and 4,339 girls \$6,179. The educative values suggested in these figures is significant. In the five state institutions open at the time, the University, the Spanish-American Normal, the New Mexico Military Institute, the Agricultural College and the School of Mines, 1,000 students and members of faculties gave \$6,000. The pupils of the Indian School at Albuquerque gave \$750 and those in the Indian School at Santa Fe \$100. Indians on the reservations contributed approximately \$3,000. Miners contributed generously as did employers in all the industries. One of the largest contributions was that of \$35,000 by the Chino Copper Company of Grant County. So thoroughly had the work been done that the state was third in reaching its quota and on November 24th it was found that the state had contributed \$286,153.

Types of organizations for meeting war quotas and for performing the community's part in all activities were the "War Chest" in Colfax County, the "Lick the Kaiser" Club in Eddy County and the "Patriots' Fund" in Albuquerque. The last mentioned fund was made up of contributions made upon the basis of one per cent of the income following the Kenosha Plan. In Santa Fe, the Red Cross requirements were met by systematic monthly payments. These various plans show the earnest spirit in which civilians were determined to "see it through."

In the four Liberty Loan campaigns of May and October, 1917, April and September, 1918, New Mexico's quotas were respectively \$1,375,400 \$3,095,700, \$3,658,500 and \$3,243,300. The subscriptions amounted to \$1,834,600, \$3,945,750, \$6,001.750 and \$6,170,300. This is a record of which New Mexico is justly proud. Individual credit cannot be distributed as it seemed that all lent their aid in accordance with ability and opportunity. The figures for the third loan in the northern district where Judge Reed Holloman was in charge are typical. In that campaign in the ten counties of Colfax, McKinley, Mora, Rio Arriba, San Juan, San Miguel, Sandoval, Santa Fe, Taos and Union, every county oversubscribed its quota. The total quota for the ten counties was \$1,058,300 and the subscriptions amounted to \$2,323,450, the number of subscribers being 12,694. All the counties and fifty-five towns and villages in this district were awarded honor flags. The southern district under the directorship of Max Nordhaus of Albuquerque, was no less patriotic. In the campaign for raising New Mexico's quota of War Savings Stamps, it was, for several reasons, impossible for the people of the state to buy the amount assigned to it, yet many of the counties made splendid efforts to reach the mark set for them, Luna County, however, being the only one to exceed its quota. Grant County subscribed for \$218,110.04, or 62 per cent of its allotment. Although New Mexico failed to raise its quota of seven million dollars, only two million dollars being subscribed for, the ratio per capita will compare favorably with those in many of the more prosperous states; and this in spite of a three years' drought and an utter lack of war profits or business stimulation such as other sections enjoyed. For the remarkable results obtained, the unwearied efforts of the director of the campaign, Mr. Hallett Reynolds of Las Vegas, are chiefly responsible.

The whole machinery of the State Food Administration was in the hands of civilians, thirteen hundred agents work under the directorship of Ralph C. Ely. There is not and representatives devoting their time and efforts to this

space in this chapter to tell of this work or of that of the Fuel Administration at the head of which, until his death, was former Governor William C. McDonald, with organizations in all the counties. Sixty or more civilians acted as agents for the issuance of permits to handle explosives. There were organizations of livestock growers, of wholesale and retail merchants, of restaurant and hotel keepers, each planning in conference and all working for the common aim of "winning the war." These conferences took place as a rule either at Santa Fe or at Albuquerque, a general conference of all war workers being at Albuquerque, May 9th and 10th, 1918.

The Highways Transport Committee, under the chairmanship of George Singleton of Clovis, organized the state into five districts each in charge of a chairman. The aim of this committee was to facilitate the movement of commodities in every way possible and, had the war continued, its well laid plans, involving the co-operation of hundreds of persons, would without doubt have achieved the desired results.

The thorough organization of the "Four Minute Men" in every county in the state, as perfected under the leadership of Laurence F. Lee of Albuquerque, was a noteworthy feature of civilian activities. Very little of the literature relating to the war was printed in Spanish and public addresses were, as a rule, the most effective means of appealing to Spanish-speaking people. The results of the various campaigns in the northern counties of the state are sufficient evidence of the generous response to these appeals. The "Four Minute Men" began their work in August, 1917, but for a time reports were sent directly to Washington. From March 11 to December 31, 1918, there were two thousand two hundred ninety four addresses made to audiences aggregating four hundred ninety-two thousand four hundred twenty. It is conservatively estimated that fully as many talks were made and as many people heard them in the period from August 1917 to March 1918. Santa Fe County reported twenty speakers making a total of seventy-

five talks and together addressing eighteen thousand persons. In the city of Roswell one hundred fifteen talks were made to a total of forty-six thousand. In the organization were thirty-one chairmen and two hundred fifty regularly enlisted speakers, not including clergymen. Churches, motion picture theatres, school houses, public buildings of all kinds and many homes were freely offered for use by the "Four Minute Men." The extent to which the work was voluntary is indicated by the fact that the total expense incurred in this work for the whole state during the entire war period was less than five hundred dollars.

In connection with "war" meetings, mention should be made of Liberty Choruses which furnished patriotic music on numerous occasion. Wherever an enthusiastic musician could be found to lead, groups were formed to sing the songs of America and her allies. Whole communities were thus taught the national songs of the United States, England, France and Italy.

For the purposes of this chapter, one holding an office under the national, state, county, or municipal government is a civilian. Practically every man in public life in the state was called upon to perform duties in connection with war activities as a speaker, or as a chairman of a committee in charge of some important work. Thus our nine district judges were leaders in the Liberty Loan campaigns in their respective districts. All justices of the Supreme Court were active participants in the various "drives." But our officials also performed important work by virtue of the office which they held. As to Governor Lindsey, some account of the leadership and service of our "War Governor" has already been given.

The state bank examiner, George H. Van Stone, contributed much to the effectiveness of the excellent organization of the banks of the state in promoting all forms of work and in addition gave of his time and efforts to arousing interest in increased food production. Through the interest and cooperation of R. P. Ervien, commissioner of public lands, 22441 acres of land leased for grazing pur-

poses were planted in crops, and the raising of corn, beans, forage and potatoes was materially increased. The State Corporation Commission was instrumental in securing lower freight rates on feed for livestock that saved the growers of sheep and cattle over \$100,000 in one season. The state treasurer invested three quarters of a million dollars of Permanent Funds of the state institutions in Liberty Bonds.

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction was called upon again and again to set the machinery of the school system of the state into motion to assist in various undertakings. As state director of the United States Public Service Reserve and of the Boys Working Reserve, Superintendent Wagner and his office staff enrolled 3700 men and 2624 boys. Of the men enrolled, seven hundred skilled workers and three thousand unskilled laborers entered the employ of the government in various parts of the country. Of the boys enrolled eight hundred and sixty reported seventy nine thousand five hundred and thirty seven days of work with net earnings amounting to one hundred twelve thousand four hundred and three dollars and thirty-eight cents. In addition the state department of education supervised the organization of girls in a similar manner, enrolling one thousand three hundred and forty-one members of whom eight hundred and nine reported sixty-two thousand two hundred one working days with total net earning of forty-one thousand one hundred fifty nine dollars and sixty-nine cents. Associated with Superintendent Wagner in bringing about these splendid results was Mr. Guthrie Smith as executive secretary. These results, it must be noted, were reached practically without cost to either state or nation. Through this office, the Thrift Stamp Campaign was carried into every school in the state. The director of industrial education, Mrs. Ruth C. Miller, was director also of the Home Economics Division of the State Food Administration and was one of the most active in spreading the gospel of production and food conservation. Among county and city officials, too, there was

the same readiness to answer every summons to service. The duties of county clerks in connection with the selective draft were heavy; sheriffs were called upon to assist in bringing in "slackers" of all classes; assessors made investigations concerning property of aliens; and county superintendents served as organizers of rural communities through the medium of the schools.

Those citizens of the state who held positions under the federal government during the war were all in the civilian division of our army. Postmasters and postal employees were overburdened with work naturally pertaining to their employment, and yet new duties were constantly added as a result of the government's war plans. For example, postmasters were appointed agents for securing laborers for war work and were expected to assist in the sale of War Savings Stamps. The officials of the various U. S. Land offices in the state and forest supervisors, all of whom were civilians, redoubled their efforts to improve conditions for quickly increasing production. In this state and in Arizona, as one result, the number of cattle grazed on national forest reserves increased by 70,000 over the previous year, and the number of sheep by 48,000.

The various state educational institutions, in addition to being centers of patriotism and loyalty, joined in every campaign for war funds. At the University of New Mexico, the service flag numbers one hundred seventy-five stars, evidence enough of the loyalty of the institution and its members. From the opening of the war in April, 1917, the president and board of regents of the University sought opportunities for cooperation with the state and nation in their war plans. The offer of its three hundred fifty acre campus for the location of barracks was accepted by the National Guard. The curriculum was adjusted to war conditions. Public lectures were given by members of the faculty on war topics. The columns of the "Weekly" and the "News" were devoted to disseminating war information. All "drives" were given the undivided support of instructors and students by generous subscriptions as well

as by participation as workers in each organization. On October 1, 1918, the University opened its doors on practically a military basis in connection with the Student's Army Training Corps. One hundred sixty young men registered for military training in addition to college courses.

The varied and extensive operations conducted by the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts can hardly be even outlined in a paragraph. Many of these operations were carried on in connection with the Council of Defense and accounts of some of them will, no doubt, have a place in other chapters. The whole equipment of the institution and all its organization and facilities were offered to the government. In the engineering department, new courses were offered and old ones readjusted in accordance with war training requirements. For example a Radio and Buzzer Operators' School was established from which forty operators were trained. Special training was given in many trades required in the army, even before the assurance that the institution would be used for soldier training. Of the Student Army Training Corps, one hundred men registered in various departments, half of them electing work in engineering. A total of five hundred and seven men were sent to the college for military training during the summer and fall of 1918.

Because of the results of many years of study and experimentation, the College was found ready to assist the State Food Administration and the Council of Defense in the production and conservation of food and forage. Numerous bulletins were issued to supplement former publications. Information was promptly furnished along lines that had to do with methods for securing the best results quickly. Through the efforts of the agents and instructors in the College, it has been estimated that the production of crops was increased in the state by thirty per cent. In the extension department, the office and field force was expanded until there were one hundred ten persons on the pay roll all using their utmost efforts to assist the people of the state in their war work. Four thousand members

were enrolled in the Boys' and Girls' Club Work in 1918 in nearly twenty different classes of projects with the value products amounting to one hundred twenty thousand dollars and profits of seventy five thousand dollars.

With the expansion of the work of the College due to war demands into so many fields, it might be supposed that less attention would be paid to Liberty Loan, Red Cross and other campaigns. The record shows however, a total of \$55,934.30 pledged by the members of the faculty and the students for war funds.

Eighty-six per cent of the students enrolled in 1916 at the New Mexico School of Mines were found at the close of the war to have been in active service, thirty-eight per cent of these receiving commissions. Considering the fact that this institution does not include military training in its courses, this is a remarkable evidence of the character of engineering work done and the spirit of patriotism characterizing the school, its faculty and students.

The New Mexico Normal University was active in all war enterprises. Its instructors made over 150 patriotic addresses in various parts of the state; faculty and students took \$30,000 in Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps; and Red Cross Work was carried on constantly. The institution had charge of the war gardens in the town of Las Vegas where 205 boys and girls were enrolled and vegetables produced of the value of \$3844.80. In the regular school work courses were readjusted to meet the demands of war conditions.

The New Mexico Normal School at Silver City has a long list of items to its credit in the civilian activities account. Only a few typical ones can be here given. Faculty members and students performed their full share of Red Cross requirements. Practically all boxes used for shipping the supplies of the Grant County Chapter were made by the manual training pupils of the Normal School. The support of orphan children of France and Belgium was assumed by the instructors and students of the school and by means of various entertainments the institution assist-

ed in raising one thousand dollars for the Blind Soldiers' Fund. As volunteer workers for the draft board, as members of canteen committees to care for sick soldiers passing through Silver City on their way to Fort Bayard and generous subscribers to all war funds, these teachers and students proved themselves patriotic and capable in the highest degree. In the regular school work emphasis was laid on courses in First Aid, Home Care of the Sick, Surgical Dressing and in Food Conservation.

The New Mexico Military Institute, in addition to the participation of its students, past and present, in active war service, shared in all other activities incident to war needs. Upon the opening of hostilities, the whole work of the institution was readjusted to assist the government. Military training was intensified and every effort made to prepare young men to become officers in the army. Students were sent into various communities to serve as drill masters in local high schools and to assist in organizing military units. When the Student Army Training Corps unit was established at the Institute, seventy-six students were inducted into the service; sixty-six others were enrolled but the armistice took place while their papers were under consideration at Washington.

The work of the director of the Museum of New Mexico and his staff in connection with child welfare and the collection of historical material relating to New Mexico's part in the war must be classed with civilian activities. So must the service rendered by public libraries in their use of war posters and bulletin boards. It was largely through the librarians of the state, led by Miss Evelyn Shuler of Raton, that ten thousand volumes were collected in twenty-two towns for the reading rooms at the various camps.

The increase in crop production under the stimulus of war demands is still another evidence of civilian energy and enterprise. The acreage planted in wheat increased from 113,000 acres in 1916 to 213,000 in 1918 and the production from 2,104,000 to 3,334,000 bushels. Of corn, 4,250,000 bushels were raised in 1918 as compared with

2,625,000 in 1916. The potato yield was 816,000 bushels in 1916 and 1,276,000 bushels in 1918. In the former year, 64,000 acres were planted in beans and 207,000 acres in 1917. It is estimated that the bean crop in 1917 reached a total of 70,000,000 pounds. In Eddy County 6,500 bales of cotton were picked and in Dona Ana County 14,700 crates of canteloupes were shipped in one season.

In war garden work, men, women and children responded splendidly to the appeal for greater production. In all, there were about 3,000 war gardens, Tucumcari for example, reporting 140 gardens, Las Vegas 400, and the little town of Willard in Torrance county had 40. Mrs. Isaac Barth was the head of the home gardens division.

As a war measure, the adoption of the prohibition constitutional amendment at an election held November 6, 1917, should not be overlooked. On that date the civilians of New Mexico decreed by a splendid majority of 16,585 that they would not suffer their efforts to win the war to be handicapped by the liquor traffic. On October 1, 1918, therefore, in accordance with the provisions of the amendment adopted, all saloons in the state closed their doors and, it is believed, closed them forever.

We are not permitted in this brief resume to more than mention that in one of the Liberty Loan campaigns, twenty-seven convicts in the state penitentiary joined in the purchase of a one thousand dollar bond, each contributing an amount of from two dollars to four hundred dollars; that practically all owners of automobiles placed their cars at the disposal of all committees and agencies engaged in war activities as Motor Minute Men; that traveling men in their several itineraries about the state added to the sum total of civilian activities by spreading the spirit of loyalty and by reporting to the proper authorities the slightest signs of disaffection; that miners in the Gallup coal fields volunteered to assist in the saving of the fruit crop in San Juan county; that Indian farmers on the Mes-

calero reservation increased the acreage of potatoes planted from three acres to seventy-eight acres in one year; that in several towns and cities of the state, men formed Home Guard companies and drilled persistently until the war closed. In fact, the special activities here mentioned are merely typical of the loyal spirit of New Mexicans. They have been selected at random and the list could be greatly extended.

The story of civilian activity in New Mexico told here in brief outline, could not be fully told by recounting merely what was done or attempted. What the people of the state did not do should also be a part of the history of the state for the period of the war. In obeying all suggestions and appeals it is doubtful whether any part of the United States has been more scrupulous than our own state. The food restrictions, often embarrassing, were seldom disregarded. The hampering regulations which governed traveling and transportation met with cheerful compliance. Needing school houses and other public buildings, all construction was promptly suspended at a suggestion from Washington. This was true also to a large extent, of the work on roads and bridges which had been planned by the county and state highway officials. In fact if the sum total of civilian self-restraint and sacrifice could be measured, it would equal even the splendid aggregate of what we might call positive forms of activity. While thousands in New Mexico served, tens of thousands obeyed and waited. They were all parts of the remarkable system of cooperation that evolved so rapidly and that placed New Mexico in the front ranks of the states of the Union in war activities.

Rupert F. Asplund

SPANISH FOLK-LORE IN NEW MEXICO

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

One of the richest fields for the collecting and study of Spanish folk-lore is the southwestern part of our own country, particularly the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Some of these regions are very old in Spanish traditions, being some of the oldest settlements made by the Spaniards after the conquest and colonization of Mexico or Nueva España, and they have very tenaciously preserved many precious treasures of old Spanish folk-lore that other regions of the Spanish world and even Spain herself have completely forgotten. For the comparative study of Spanish folk-lore, and, therefore, ethnology and culture, the collection, publication and study of folk-lore materials from the above mentioned regions of the United States are of the greatest interest and importance to science.

Very little has been done in the collection and publication of really old and traditional materials of Spanish source from any of these regions with the single exception of New Mexico. In the all-important field of New Mexican Spanish language and folk-lore the author of this article has worked almost alone, but even so he has been fortunate enough to collect abundant materials that have been published in various American and European journals. Some of these materials, particularly the purely linguistic studies, the folk-tales, and the *romances tradicionales*, or traditional ballads, have been very welcome contributions to Spanish linguistics and folk-lore.¹ The traditional Spanish ballads, for example, that are ten in num-

1. My *Studies in New-Mexican Spanish* (studies in linguistics and dialectology) were published in Germany, in the *Revue de Dialectologie Romane* (Part I. Phonology, 1909, Part II. Morphology, 1911, and Part III. The English Elements, 1914.) A special article, *Syllabic Consonants in New Mexican Spanish* was published in the December, 1925, number of *Language*, journal of the Linguistic Society of

ber and are found in twenty-seven versions, furnish us one of the most interesting, important and most archaic collections of Spanish ballads that have been collected anywhere in the Spanish world. Some of them are versions of old Spanish ballads that were brought to the New World by the early Spanish settlers in the XVIth century, and are, therefore, some of the most precious materials of Spanish folk-lore that have been found in Spanish America.

But the New Mexican field has not been exhausted by any means. Much more material is available no doubt and it only awaits enthusiastic collectors and students of folk-lore who will appreciate its worth and save it from oblivion. New Mexican institutions unfortunately have taken little interest in the study or preservation of the Spanish language in New Mexico or in the collection and study of its folk-lore. The New Mexico Historical Society as now constituted is now to take the leading part in this great work and has asked the present writer to publish in the new journal of the Society articles on the Spanish language in New Mexico and on New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore. This is the first ray of hope for New-Mexican Spanish language and folk-lore and the plans of the New Mexico Historical Society will be seconded by all students of linguistics, folk-lore and ethnology. The present article, therefore, is an attempt to present to the readers of the *New Mexico Historical Review* an outline of New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore studies and to suggest the methods best suited to the pursuit of these.

America. Most of my articles and studies on New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore were published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* during the years 1910-1916, with the general title *New-Mexican Spanish Folk-Lore*, as follows: Part I. *Myths*, Part II. *Superstitions and Beliefs*, Part III. *Folk-Tales*, Part IV. *Mexican Proverbs*, Part V. *Popular Comparisons*, Part VI. *Los Trovos del Viejo Vilmas*, Part VII. *More Folk-Tales*, Part VIII. *Short Stories and Anecdotes*, Part IX. *Riddles*, Part X *Children's Games*, Part XI. *Nursery Rhymes*. Fourteen more New-Mexican Spanish folk-tales were published in the *Bulletin de Dialectologie Romane*, Germany (1914.) My collection and study of the traditional Spanish ballads from New Mexico was published in the *Revue Hispanique*, Paris in 1915, with the title *Romancero Nuevomexicano*. As we have said above, there are ten ballads in twenty-seven versions, although Mr. C. F. Lummis in his work *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, New York, 1893, stated that no traditional Spanish ballads were to be found in New Mexico.

In California there are more collectors, according to reports, but very little has been published as yet that has any great value for Spanish folk-lore studies. The author of this article has collected and published a small number of traditional Spanish ballads, which like the New-Mexican are real gems on account of the archaic character of the versions. They are published unedited in the *Memorial Volumes*² published in Spain recently in honor of Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the greatest living authority on Spanish language and literature, and who is collecting for publication the Spanish balladry of the whole Spanish-speaking world. He has the theory that the Spanish ballads are found in oral tradition wherever the Spanish language is spoken, and thus far his theory has been upheld wherever folk-lorists have looked for such materials. The author also has an unpublished collection of folk-tales from Spanish California. As for Spanish popular songs and lyrics, the only interesting collection for the Southwest as a whole is the publication of Miss Eleanor Hague, *Spanish American Folk-Songs*, New York, 1917. These songs, however, are not very old. The recent publications of Mr. Lummis, *Spanish Songs from Old California*, are XIXth century songs, and of little interest to folk-lore.

From Arizona and Texas I do not know of any important published documents of traditional Spanish folk-lore. Now that interest in the Spanish language is spreading over our country, thanks to the just appreciation on the part of Americans for a language that is spoken on this continent by some fifty million people with whom we must live in continual commercial and cultural relations, and that is one of the great languages of the world, it is to be hoped that professors and teachers of Spanish in our universities and colleges will make an earnest effort to interest their students in Spanish folk-lore, an almost virgin field that lies at our doors.

The American Folk-Lore Society, thanks to the efforts

2. *Homenaje a Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, 2 volumes, Madrid, 1925.

of Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, has taken a very active interest in the collecting and publishing of Spanish folk-lore from every possible source. But the funds of the society are limited, and unless material aid is constantly received from persons of wealth it is very difficult to carry on these investigations. In order to have a large collection of peninsular Spanish folk-tales for our comparative studies the American Folk-Lore Society decided several years ago to send a special investigator to Spain. The generosity of Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, past president of the society, and one of the most eminent American folk-lorists, made possible the expedition to Spain, and the result was most fortunate. We came back from Spain with some three hundred folk-tales that will be of inestimable value to our comparative studies.³ We have in these Spanish materials conclusive proof of the theories we formerly held about the general character of the Spanish-American material, namely that it is for the most part traditional and very old. For the ballads the creative period ended in the XVIth century. From that time to the end of the XVIIIth century they came to the New World through various channels of tradition. In other fields the creative period has had a longer life. In the case of the *coplas*, the *décimas*, or ballad-like compositions of a narrative, amorous or philosophic character, the vigor of modern tradition vies with the old.

And to collect these materials from the Spanish-speaking Americans of our great Southwest a work really herculean is necessary. To cry for funds to carry on these researches may seem, in our commercially mad age, like a voice that cries in the wilderness. But it does not matter. For even without funds some of this precious material may be collected by some of us.

In the following pages we give samples of genuine

3. These materials are now being published in the Stanford University Publications, with the title, *Cuentos Populares Españoles*. Volumes I and II appeared in 1923 and 1924. Volume III is now in press.

New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore, for the most part taken from my various studies already published. For the sake of brevity and because I am here reprinting in part from my own articles I shall omit all references to source.

As already indicated the most precious materials for the study of comparative literature and folk-lore are the *romances tradicionales* or old Spanish ballads. According to a theory of Ramón Menéndez Pidal the old Spanish *romances* were derived from the old *cantares de gesta* or old epic poems. From all the evidences derived from the Spanish chronicles of the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth centuries the old Spanish jongleurs and troubadours recited and sang the national epics to the people during those centuries. "*Como dicen los juglares en sus cantares y en sus fablas*," is a commonplace expression to be found in the old chronicles when they wish to indicate the sources of the national legends. And more than that, the prose accounts very often reveal the old verse epic by copying down whole passages of prosified verse from the *cantares*. The *cantares*, however, were handed down in the mouths of the people and from these are derived the first *romances* or ballads. The old Spanish ballads, so admirably appreciated and translated into English by Lockhart and Longfellow, are pieces of the old epic songs. These historical ballads were handed down in oral tradition from the XIIIth and XIVth centuries to the XVIth and XVIIth centuries when the ballad collectors and the national dramatists like Lope de Vega and Guillén de Castro saved them from oblivion and gave them dramatic form. Some, however, have survived in oral tradition even to the present day, and they may be found in the oral tradition of Castile and other parts of Spain, in the Balkan Peninsula among the Jews that were exiled from Spain in 1492, in Chile and Mexico, and in our own New Mexico.

The opening lines of the best versions of the ten traditional Spanish ballads found by me in New Mexico, and which may be useful to those who wish to seek other versions, are the following:

1. Delgadina se paseaba por una sala cuadrada.
2. Gerineldo, Gerineldo, mi camarero aguerrido.
3. Una niña en un balcón le dice a un pastor :-Espera.
4. Francisquita, Francisquita, la del cuerpo muy sutil.
5. Andábame yo paseando por las orillas del mar.
6. En una playa arenosa una blanca sombra vi.
7. Catalina, Catalina, paño blanco de lino es.
8. Chiquita, si me muriere no me entierres en sagrado.
9. Atención, señores míos, Membruno se va a casar.
10. El piojo y la liendre se quieren casar.

There is an eleventh New Mexican Spanish version of a traditional Spanish ballad, the one found by Miss Barbara Freire-Marreco of Oxford, England, when studying ethnology among the New-Mexican Pueblo Indians and published by me in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, in December, 1916, with a comparative study. Later I myself obtained another version of the same ballad from Taos (see *Revue Hispanique*, Paris, 1917.) The complete list to date, therefore of traditional Spanish ballads found in New Mexico contains eleven ballads in twenty-nine versions. There are, of course more ballads, but they are not really old and traditional.

I now give versions of two of the old ballads in full.*

LA APARICION

(Recited by Gregorio García of Socorro, New Mexico)

En una playa arenosa una blanca sombra vi,
y entre más me retiraba más se acercaba de mí.
—¿Dónde vas, caballerito, alejándote de mí?
—Voy en busca de mi esposa, que hace días no la vi.
—Ya tu esposa ya está muerta, con mis ojos yo la vi;
cuarto duques la llevaban a la ciudad de Madrid.
El coche en que la llevaban era de oro y carmesí;
la tapa que le pusieron era de oro y de marfil.
Cásate, caballerito, y no te quedes así,
y al primer niño que tengas ponle nombre como a mí.

4. Since we are not concerned at present with the peculiarities of New-Mexican Spanish I shall transcribe all the folk-lore materials in the standard Spanish alphabet.

Ya murió la flor de mayo, ya murió en el mes de abril;
ya murió la que reinaba en la ciudad de Madrid.

CAMINO DEL CALVARIO

Por el rastro de la cruz que Jesucrito llevaba
camina la Virgen Pura en una fresca mañana.
Como era tan de mañana la hora que caminaba
las campanas de Belén todas tocaban el alba.
Encontró a San Juan Bautista y de esta manera le
habla:

—¿No me has visto por aquí al hijo de mis entrañas?

—Por aquí pasó, señora, antes que el gallo cantara.

Cinco mil azotes lleva en sus sagradas espaldas.

Tres clavos lleva en sus manos con que ha de ser en-
clavado,

y una corona de espinas con que ha de ser coronado.

Una cruz lleva en sus hombros de madera muy pesada;
tanto el peso le rendía que caía y se levantaba;

una soga en su garganta, que era una pena doblada.

Cada estirón que le daban mi Jesús se arrodillaba.

Al punto que oyó la Virgen cayó al suelo desmayada.

San Juan, como buen sobrino, luego acudió a levantarla.

—Levántese, tía mía, que no es tiempo de tardanza;
que el martirio de Jesús es libertad de las almas.

This last ballad, which is the Taos version of a very old traditional Spanish ballad dating from the XVth century or earlier, is a very vivid account of a traditional episode of the tragedy of Golgotha. My father tells me that it is part of the repertoire of religious songs that describe the Passion of the Saviour and form the Holy Week ritual of the Hermanos Penitentes, the New Mexico flagellants, the last and degenerate sons of the Third Order of St. Francis that still exist and practice their rites in New Mexico and Southern Colorado. Their organizers and leaders in the New World were the early Franciscan missionaries. Other interesting old religious ballads may be found in the ritual of this society.⁵

5. For a general account of the history of the New-Mexican flagellants see my article, *Los Hermanos Penitentes*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Just as important as the old *romances*, in some respects even more important, are the New-Mexican Spanish folk-tales. The number of these must be very large. In all my collections already published the number does not reach fifty. In fact I have published only some thirty really long traditional tales. The study of the New-Mexican Spanish folk-tales has always been important because it helps us to trace very definitely the Indian influence, if any. The New-Mexican materials are, for the most part, Spanish and traditional. The Indians have been influenced by the Spanish in the folk-tale transmission, but the reverse influence has been found to be negligible. My trip to Spain in 1920 has convinced me of this fact absolutely, although before the Spanish expedition I had expressed the same view. The New-Mexican Spanish version of the *Tar-Baby* story, for example, is one derived from the Spanish *Sansón* story found by me in Spain, and the Spanish tale as well as the well-known negro tales of similar character are all in fact modern versions of the old Hindu tale of the *Demon with the matted hair*. The English folk-lorist Joseph Jacobs is substantially of the same opinion. In fact it is very probable that the tale has travelled from India to Europe and from Europe to Africa and America through Spanish and Portuguese versions, as Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons has very well shown.⁶

To give even a brief account of the folk-tales of Spanish provenience that may be found in New Mexico would take us far beyond the limits of this article. I may give a comparison to illustrate the abundance of the traditional material that I confidently believe is still waiting in New Mexico for the pious sympathy of some scholar. During my six months stay in Spain in the year 1920 collecting Spanish folk-tales I collected some three hundred old tales of the greatest interest for comparative folk-lore studies. It is my guess that a similar number of old Spanish folk-

6. See Joseph Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, London, 1892, page 9, and *folk-Lore*, vol. XXX, pages 227-234, London, 1919.

tales could be collected yet in New Mexico in the same length of time. New-Mexican tradition represents a very archaic epoch with very little foreign influence since the beginning of the seventeenth century. A collection of some ten or more versions of the well-known picaresque tale of *Pedro de Urdemalas* alone would be at present a very desirable project. My few New-Mexican versions published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* awakened a genuine interest in the genre throughout the Spanish-speaking countries and recently some have been published from Chile by Ramón A. Laval.⁷

Comparative studies in the folk-tale material reveal to us surprising procedures in folk-loristic psychology. Without entering into a detailed comparative study of the material I give below versions of a Spanish tale, both modern versions of an old tale from India, one found in the *Pantschatantra* and the *Calila and Digna*. Both Spanish versions, the one being one found by me in Spain in 1920, the other in New Mexico and recited to me by my mother many years ago and recorded for publication in 1912, date, no doubt, from a time when the *Calila and Digna* popularized the Arabic versions in Spain in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries.⁸ Both are excellent examples of the vigor of Spanish tradition in isolated districts in Toro, Spain, and New Mexico.

The two Spanish versions follow. I may add that the Spanish version from Toro, Spain, was the very first tale collected by me in Spain. The reader can imagine the joy and surprise I received when I heard this my first peninsular Spanish find of what was to be a collection of some three hundred, and recalled the similar, almost identical version that I had heard when a child from the lips of my mother. Perhaps other and longer versions may yet appear from New Mexico.

7. *Cuentos de Pedro de Urdemales*, Santiago de Chile, 1925.

8. See Theodore Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, Leipzig, 1859, vol. I. pages 609-610.

A. Version from Toro, Spain

LA PEGA Y SUS PEGUITOS

(The magpie and her little ones)

Había una vez una pega que vivía en un ponjo donde tenía un nido con varios peguitos. Todos los días venía un zorro y le decía a la pega:

—Peguita, dame un peguito,
que si no te corto el ponjo.

La pega, con grande dolor de su corazón, le tiraba del ponjo un peguito y el pícaro del zorro se lo comía. Volvía el zorro y pasaba siempre lo mismo. El zorro le decía a la pega que le diera un peguito y que si no le cortaba el ponjo, y la pega, con grande dolor de su corazón, le tiraba uno.

Ya el zorro acababa con los peguitos, cuando llegó un día a visitar a la pega su primo, el alcaraván. Cuando éste se enteró de lo que pasaba le dijo a su prima, la pega:— Si el zorro viene otra vez no le des un peguito. Y si te dice que te corta el ponjo le dices tú:

El hocil sí corta el ponjo,
pero no el rabo (d) el raposo.

Se fué el alcaraván y a poco llegó el zorro y le dijo a la pega:

—Peguita, dame un peguito,
que si no, te corto el ponjo.

Y la pega le respondió como le había dicho su primo, el alcaraván:

—El hocil sí corta el ponjo,
pero no el rabo (d) el raposo.

El zorro le dijo entonces a la pega:—¿Quién te ha dicho que me dijeras eso? Seguramente fué tu primo, el alcaraván. Pues yo le pillaré culo arriba en un cascajal. Y con efecto el zorro se dió maña para coger al alcaraván. Lo cogió y se lo tragó vivo. El pobre del alcaraván le decía desde la tripa:—Suéltame, hermano zorro. Déjame salir. El zorro se negaba a ello y por fin le dijo el alcaraván:— Ya que no quieres dejarme salir por lo menos vete delante del ponjo de mi prima, la pega, y grita desde allí bien alto para que todos se enteren: ¡Alcaraván comí!

Así lo hizo el zorro. Fué y se puso delante del ponjo de

la pega y gritó muy alto:—¡Alcaraván comí! Pero al gritar abrió la boca tan grande que el alcaraván se escapó y exclamó:— ¡A otro, que no a mí!

B. Version from New Mexico⁹

LA PALOMA Y SUS PICHONES

Una paloma vivía en el monte y tenía un nido en un encino con cuatro pichoncitos. Un día llegó un coyote y le dijo:

—Paloma, dame uno de tus pichones.

Y la paloma le respondió:

—No, no te lo doy.

Entonces le dijo el coyote:

—Si no me lo das, te corto el encino y me los como todos.

Y comenzó colazo y colazo a darle al encino. La pobre paloma se espantó y de miedo le tiró uno de sus pichones y le coyote lo agarró y se lo comió.

Luego llegó el calvo (el palomo) y halló a la pobre paloma llorando y le dijo:—¿Por qué lloras? Y la paloma le respondió: —¿Como no he de llorar? Vino el coyote y me quitó uno de mis pichoncitos. —¿Pa qué se lo diste?—le dijo el calvo. Y la paloma le respondió: Porque me dijo que si no le daba uno me cortaba el encino y se los comía todos. Y el calvo le dijo entonces:—Si vuelve a venir no le des nada. Y si te dice que te corta el encino y se los come todos le dices:

Hacha, burro, corta encino,
no cola de raposino.

A poco que se fué el calvo vino de nuevo el coyote y le dijo a la paloma:

—Paloma, dame uno de tus pichones.

Y la paloma le respondió:

—No, no te lo doy.

Entonces le dijo el coyote:

—Si no me lo das te corto el encino y me los como todos.

Y la paloma le dijo entonces:

9. I am calling this a New-Mexican version because I believe it is really a tale that may belong to New-Mexican tradition, but just how long it has been divorced from a peninsular Spanish tradition I would not pretend to determine. My mother learned it from her mother, but beyond that we do not know from where it came. My mother's paternal grandmother came directly from Spain toward the end of the XVIIIth century and she may have brought the tale from her home in Castile.

—Hacha, burro, corta encino,
no cola de raposino

El coyote se fué muy nojao, maliciando que el calvo era el de la culpa y lo halló bebiendo agua en un ojito. Arriándose poco a poco y muy quedito, lo pescó y le dijo:— Ora sí te voy a comer, porque tú fuiste el que le dijiste a la paloma que no me diera otro pichón. Y el calvo le respondió:— No, manito coyotito, no me mates. Mira que yo soy el rey de todas las aves y yo te llevaré onde te las comas todas. Súbete arriba de aquella lomita y te paras en las patas de atrás y gritas: ¡Alcaraván comí! y todas las aves vendrán y te las comerás.

El coyote dijo que estaba bueno, que así lo haría. Y se fué como el calvo le dijo pa arriba de la lomita, se paró en las patas de atrás y abrió la boca muy grande pa gritar lo que el calvo le había dicho. Pero abrió la boca tan grande cuando gritó ¡Alcaraván comí! que el calvo se escapó y le dijo:— ¡M— comiste!

New Mexico seems to be particularly rich in traditional Spanish proverbs and riddles. Some of these are in assonance or rhyme and represent very archaic materials. A complete or fairly complete collection of the New-Mexican Spanish proverbs would be easy to compile among the Spanish pupils in the schools. They could be asked to collect them in their homes and some one could arrange them and publish them. The same might be done with the riddles. These last are often presented in the form of *décimas* or riddle-tales. My own published collection of proverbs contains six hundred and one and the riddles number one hundred and sixty-five. The proverbs are of the greatest possible interest. Of the entire six hundred and one in my publication exactly four hundred and twenty, or about seventy per cent are to be found in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* published recently in the 15th edition by the Royal Spanish Academy. In other words seventy per cent of the entire collection (with here and there insignificant changes in words or dialectic changes) are part of the general store house of Spanish proverb tradition so skillfully used by the great Cervantes in the mouth of San-

cho Panza. The following, which I select at random from my published collection, may be given as examples:

A. In assonance or rhyme

El que se enoja no moja ni come maiz de la troja.
 El que tiene hijo varón que no dé voces ni pregón.
 El que nació para guaje haste jumate no para.
 El que da lo que ha menester el diablo se ríe de él.
 El muerto al pozo y el vivo al negocio.
 El que a las ocho no se va a las nueve ¿qué espera? Que lo
 agarren de la mano y lo echen fuera?
 El que regala bien vende y el que lo recibe lo entiende.
 Eres come Juan Gómez tú lo das y tú te lo comes.
 El que da lo que tiene no desea lo que ve.
 El que de santo resbala hasta el infierno no para.
 El dinero del mezquino dos veces anda el camino.
 El martes ni te cases ni te embarques.
 Favor referido ni de Dios ni del diablo es agradecido.
 Haz bien y no acates a quién.
 Hace más el que quiere que el que tiene.
 La suerte de la fea la bonita la desea.
 No hay dolor que dure cien años ni enfermo que lo aguante.
 Natural y figura haste la sepultura.
 No prometas ni a los santos votos ni a los niños bollos.
 Piensa el ladrón que todos son de su condición.
 Recaudo hace cocina, no Catalina.
 Si quieres pasar mal día deja tu casa y vente a la mía.
 Tanto va el cántaro al agua hasta que se cae.
 Vale más saber que tener.
 Vanidad y pobreza son de un pieza.
 Zamora no se ganó en una hora.

B. Not in assonance or rhyme

A palabras necias oídos sordos.
 A cada uno su gusto le engorda.
 Así le paga el diablo al que bien le sirve.
 Al que se hace de miel se lo comen las moscas.
 A la bondad le dicen salvajada.
 Al caballo y al amigo no hay que apurarles.
 Al que Dios se la tiene San Pedro se la bendice.
 Al que tiene manada le dan potrillito.
 Buen abogado mal vecino.
 Caras vemos pero corazones no.

Con la vara que mides serás medido.
Con deseos no se hacen templos.
Cada loco con su tema y yo con mi terquedad.
Cuando el diablo reza engañar quiere.
De tal palo tal astilla.
Dígotelo a tí, mi hija, y entiéndetelo tú, mi nuera.
El que busca el peligro cae en él.
El que da un paso da dos.
El que ha de ser real sencillo aunque ande entre los do-
blones.
El que está hecho al mal el bien le ofende.
La esperanza no engorda pero mantiene.
La caridad bien ordenada comienza por sí mismo.
No' hay mal que por bien no venga.
¿Para qué quiere lavandera el que no tiene camisa?
Pájaros de una misma pluma se reconocen.
Se espantan los muertos de los degollados.
Vale más un toma-toma que un aguárdate-tantito.

The riddles, although not so numerous as the proverbs, are just as important for folk-lore studies. They are frequently more archaic, especially those preserved in poetic form. There is one type that is of special value for comparative folk-lore, the long and complicated riddle that is preserved in oral tradition in the form of a *décima*. A *décima* is in Spanish a poetic composition in hendecasyllabic or octosyllabic metre in five strophæic groups, the first of four verses and the last four of ten each. The popular *décima* is found in all Spanish-speaking countries and on almost any subject. Political subjects are frequently treated in the *décimas*. In Spanish literature they are very old. In the riddle-*décima* we have, therefore, a popular poetic composition of great interest and importance and a traditional genre that very eloquently gives testimony of the vigor of Spanish tradition. It is most surprising that such long compositions should be handed down in oral tradition and preserved so long unchanged. A collection of these riddle-*décimas* from New Mexico is published in my *Romancero Nuevomexicano* already mentioned. But that col-

lection is small and we need many more. The following one will serve as an example:

El día en que yo nací
ese día me bautizaron;
ese día pedí mujer,
y ese día me casaron.

Confieso que soy criatura,
y de la tierra nací;
y antes de formarme a mí
hicieron mi sepultura.
Y me vide en tal altura
que muchos me respetaron.
Con cuatro letras me hablaron;
y para más entender,
luego que yo tuve el ser,
en la hora me bautizaron.

Mi madre es una criatura
que no tiene entendimiento
ni luz ni conocimiento;
ni sabe hablar porque es muda.
Mi padre es imagen pura,
incomprensible, y así
que habiéndome criado a mí
con su poder sin segundo,
me nombró solo en el mundo
en el día en que nací.

Fuí en el nacer admirable,
porque no soy engendrado,
ni tampoco bautizado
en la iglesia, nuestra madre.
y para que más les cuadre;
tres y uno solo me criaron;
por mi nombre me llamaron,
y para más entender,
lueg que yo tuvé el ser,
en la hora me bautizaron.

Yo soy padre de mi hermana
y me tuvo por esposo;
pues Dios, come poderoso
me la dió por desposada.
Pues ella no fué engendrada,
Dios la crió con su poder.
De mi edad la quiso hacer
con su poder infinito;
y yo, por no estar solito,
ese día pedí mujer.

(Adán.

In the field of popular poetry New Mexico is indeed a veritable mine of folk-loristic materials, important both as traditional legendary material and as new native product. We have already spoken of the *romances tradicionales* or popular ballads, the proverbs and riddles. There are many other genres. Of those not yet discussed perhaps the most important is the *copla popular* or octosyllabic quatrain known in New Mexico as *verso*. *Echar versos*, to compose, sing or recite the popular *coplas* or *versos* was during the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries a popular pastime in New Mexico at almost any social gathering. Sometimes they took the form of poetic competitions and the *canta-*

dores or popular poets and singers, the jongleurs and troubadours of New Mexico, were held in high esteem among the people. These popular poets, of whom, let us hope, there may exist yet a few in New Mexico, are the same ones that compose and sing and recite any kind of popular poetic composition, but the *verso* was the most popular genre cultivated by them. At baptisms, at weddings, at the *prendorios* and other important social events, and between the *copitas de vino*, or something a little stronger, the *cantadores* were the center of attraction and interest. The monotonous tones of the *guitarrista* or the more melodious melancholy music of the New-Mexican *violinista* accompanied as a rule the popular *cantador* in his entertainment.

A very large and important part of the repertoire of *versos* of the New-Mexican *cantador* have always been traditional material that came from Spain, and it is therefore similar to that found in all Spanish countries. In fact the institution itself of *echar versos* is not of New-Mexican origin. The old Spanish *juglar* and *trovador* of the past ages that, at the courts King John II in the XVth century, or even earlier, sang in popular song the deeds of the old Spanish heroes or the tragic loves of the Provençal troubadours, is the direct ancestor of the New-Mexican *cantador* just as the Spanish Franciscan friar of the XVth century is the direct ancestor of the modern degenerate penitente who flogs himself in public despite the admonitions of his ecclesiastical superiors. The material of the *verso popular*, however, is not entirely old. These *versos* are a constant growth and new forms appear every day. Many of them are of a proverbial or sententious character and may be changed and adapted to fit almost any occasion. The *versos* are the philosophy of the people and express in beautiful and rhythmic verse the feelings and ideas of the Spanish people. The real character of the Spanish race may be very well studied in the popular *copla*. In it are expressed its joys and its sorrows, its hopes and its skepticism, its sentiments, feelings and ideas. In short it expresses the life of the people in artistic form. My collection of po-

pular *coplas* or *versos* contains about one thousand and is as yet unpublished. The collection being now so large it is desirable to make it as complete as possible and for that reason I hope that New-Mexican teachers and others who may be able to collect material may be good enough to send it to me. No doubt there will be many repetitions and duplicate versions sent, but the task is well worth while. Collections have been published of popular *coplas* from various parts of Spain by Rodríguez Marín in his five volume edition of *Cantos Populares Españoles* (Madrid, 1882-1884), Ledesma in his *Cancionero Castellano*, etc. Our New-Mexican collection promises to be even larger and more important than these if our New-Mexican friends will continue their active help.

The New-Mexican *verso* is an octosyllabic quatrain that expresses in its four short verses a complete judgment or idea. The verses are as a rule united by assonance or rhyme. When in assonance only the second and fourth verses are so joined. This metre is the Spanish national metre par excellence and is the verse of the Classic, and XIXth century drama. The following New-Mexican *versos*, taken at random from my collection, will serve as examples of this poetic genre known to all New Mexicans. I confidently believe that it would be difficult to find a New Mexican of Spanish descent who could not recite or sing at least a half dozen of them. The local newspapers printed in Spanish often publish a few of them and a small collection could be compiled from these newspapers alone.

1

Dicen que lo negro es triste,
yo digo que no es verdad;
tú tienes los ojos negros
y eres mi felicidad.

2

De tu ventana a la mía
me tirates dos abrazos;
uno se quedó en el aire
y el otro se hizo pedazos.

3

Antenoche fui a tu casa
y vide luz en tu ventana;
era la luz de tus ojos,
lucero de la mañana.

4

De los chinos de tu frente
me darás una semilla,
para sembrar en l' oriente
una rosa de Castilla.

5

El río grande va crecido
y el chiquito va hecho un mar.
Manuelito en la otra banda
y yo sin poder pasar.

6

Ya la luna tiene cuernos
y el lucero la acompaña.
¡Ay, qué triste queda un hombre
cuando una guera lo engaña!

7

Vale más morir a palos
que de celos padecer;
vale más querer a un perro
que no a una ingrata mujer.

8

Cuatro palomitas blancas,
sentadas en un romero,
una a la otra se decían:
—No hay amor como el primero.

9

Dices que me quieres tanto
no me subas ran arriba,
que las hojas en el árbol
no duran toda la vida.

10

Arbolito enflorado.
verde, color de esperanza;
mi corazón no te olvida
ni de quererte se cansa.

11

Ninguno cante vitoria
aunque en el estribo esté;
que muchos en el estribo
se suelen quedar a pie.

12

Si Dios me diera dinero
como arenas tiene el mar,
gastaría como un loco,
todos los días un real.

13

Me han dicho que tienes otro
que lo quieres más que a mí.
Gózalo por muchos años;
no le pagues como a mí.

14

Cuando un pobre se emborracha
y un rico en su compañía,
la del pobre es borrachera,
la del rico es alegría.

15

La que se casa con viejo
ha de tener dos trabajos,
el sobarle las rodillas
y estirarle los zancajos.

16

¡Mal haya la ropa negra
y el sastre que la cortó!
Mi morena tiene luto
sin que me haya muerto yo.

17

Cuando quise no quisites
y ahora que quieres no quiero;
llora tú tu soledad
que yo la lloré primero.

18

De tus hermosos cabellos
me darás para un cordón,
y yo te daré por ellos
la vida y el corazón.

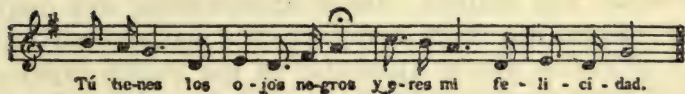
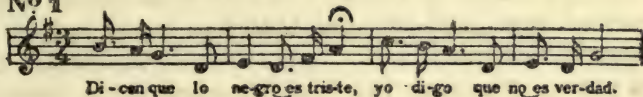
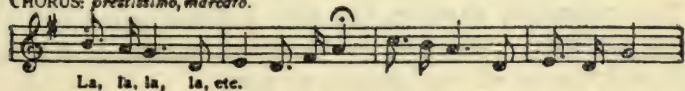
A subject that has a direct relation to New-Mexican Spanish ethnology and folk-lore is New-Mexican music. We find here, of course, that Spanish tradition is also very strong. When I travelled through the villages of Old Castile during my trip to Spain in 1920 I was more than once

agreeably surprised to find that a New-Mexican *tonadilla* or tune known to me since childhood was practically the same as one yet current in Castile. In Salas de los Infantes, near Burgos, I heard a few Christmas carols sung by children and there was among these one,

Señora Santa Ana,
Señor San Joaquín,
Arrollad este niño,
Se quiere dormir,

that had the same words and practically the same tune as the New-Mexican one, showing evidently a direct relation. The history of Spanish popular music is a subject that is unknown to me, but I venture to suggest that in New Mexico there are important materials for its study in the New World. One thing is certain. There seems to be in the music and also in the development of the popular dances some native Indian influence. In the music of the popular, traditional poetic forms there may be little or no Indian influence whatever. The following, for example, are tunes to which are sung popular versos, and these, I believe, are really of Spanish source:

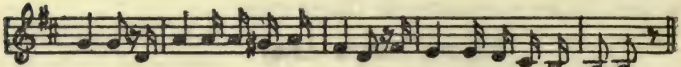
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CHORUS: *prestissimo, marcato.*

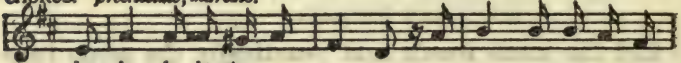
NO 4



De los chi-nos de tu fren-te me dar-ás u-na se-



mi-lla, pa-ra-rembrar en lo-nien-te u-na ro-sa de Cas-ti-lla.

CHORUS: *prestissimo, marcato.*

La, la, la, la, etc.

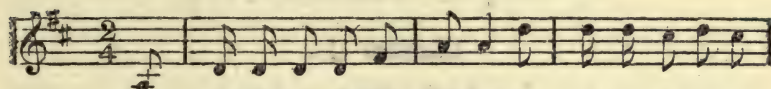


The music of the following *indita*, however, betrays a very decided Indian influence. The term *indita* has a variety of meanings in New-Mexican Spanish. It may mean a modern type of ballad written either in the traditional octosyllabic *romance* verse or in octosyllabic *quintillas* or five verse strophies. But it also denotes a popular song and dance formed after the pattern of the Spanish *jota* that may be a song, a dance, or both. The following *indita* is one of the second type, and any one that has heard native New-Mexican Indian music will at once observe the Indian flavor of its notes. The way the Spanish octosyllabic verse with a perfectly well defined iambic accentuation and assonanced scheme has been combined and harmonized with music of Indian source (probably of the Pueblo type) or at least strongly influenced by it is explained only by the fact that primitive rhythm, the only indispensable and absolutely essential principle in verse or music, is not the special patrimony of any people or race.

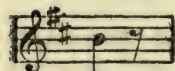
LA INDITA DE COCHITI

¡Mal haya las indias Juanas
y el alma que las parió,
que como no son cristianas

reniegan de quien las crió!
 Indita, indita, indita,
 indita de Cochití;
 no le hace que sea indita,
 al cabo no soy pa ti.



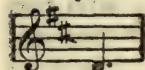
Mal ha-ya las in-dias Jua-nas y el alma que las pa-



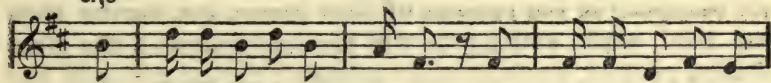
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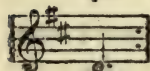
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DON JUAN DE ONATE AND THE FOUNDING
OF NEW MEXICO

By George P. Hammond, Ph. D.

Chapter III.

Don Pedro Ponce de León

Ponce Plans to Conquer New Mexico. In the early months of 1596, there appeared on the scene still another competitor in the person of Don Pedro Ponce de León, Count of Bailén, ambitious to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. He was not a total stranger in New Spain,¹¹¹ for he had gone there with the Count of Coruña, who had served as viceroy from 1580 till his death in 1582.¹¹² Presumably Ponce had soon again returned to Europe as he does not reappear in the records of New Spain, but during 1596 and 1597, while seeking to win the leadership of the New Mexico project, he frequently occupied the attention of the Council of the Indies.

Before the month of April, 1596, had progressed very far he had petitioned the king for the right to lead an expedition for the conquest of New Mexico. On the 7th the Council of the Indies drew up a statement in regard to Ponce which disclosed the fact that he had by that time memorialized the crown for the right to undertake the coveted enterprise.¹¹³ His purpose in assuming the direction of this great undertaking was, according to his own statement, entirely unselfish. He openly boasted that nothing other than the desire of furthering the service of his majesty could induce him to leave Spain. The station in life which he filled was already secure. His ancestors as counts of Bailén had never experienced want, but had always been able to serve the king. His object therefore

111. The Council of the Indies to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 293.

112. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 88-89.

113. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 293.

was to distinguish himself above his forbears in some notable manner, and he purposed to win that glory by extending the dominions of the king to New Mexico. He sought no reward till the goal had been achieved, but actually insisted that none be provided.¹¹⁴

The Council Supports Ponce. When the Council took Ponce's memorials under consideration, it was already in possession of the letter written by the Count of Monterey on December 20, 1595.¹¹⁵ In this letter, it will be recalled, the latter had asked the king that Oñate's expedition be not confirmed till he should have time to examine the contract with greater care. The Council now stressed this incident in a report to the king regarding Ponce's desire to be the conqueror of New Mexico. It further reported,¹¹⁶ after having considered his petitions regarding this position, that in its opinion it would be possible to give the leadership of the undertaking to him, since Oñate's contract had not been accepted by the Count of Monterey when he became viceroy.

The reasons advanced to substantiate this argument are interesting. First of all the Council emphasized the personality of Don Pedro Ponce, whose intelligence and general qualifications particularly fitted him for the task. These favorable conditions would enable him to attract a large following, especially in New Spain, which would serve a double purpose. Not only would the expedition benefit thereby, but Mexico would be freed of many idle and useless people who were a nuisance to the officials of the province. Furthermore the practical members of the Council of the Indies¹¹⁷ seemed quite willing that the Count of Bailén should leave his peaceful and quiet life in Spain to exchange it for a life of privation on the frontier of America, in order that he might, as he had previously stat-

114. Don Pedro Ponce de León to the king, Madrid, April 23, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 299.

115. This is apparent from the royal decree of May 8, 1596. See *ibid.*, 203. For Monterey's letter of December 20, 1595, see *ibid.*, 257.

116. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in *ibid.*, 293-295.

117. The Council was usually made up of high officials who had served in the New World. Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies*, 15.

ed in his memorials, perform a great service for the king. Seemingly the Council gave only slight attention to the rights of Oñate other than to slur his reputation. It did however recommend that the viceroy be instructed to repay him if he should have made any preparations worthy of recompense.¹¹⁸

When the king received this communication he took no immediate action. He desired additional information and requested the Council to advise him more fully regarding Oñate.¹¹⁹ This was done without delay. The reply consisted of a bitter attack on Oñate.¹²⁰ He was said not only to have wasted his fortune but to have incurred debts amounting to thirty thousand pesos, and was holding off his creditors by deceitful means. Since he was without money he would be unable to secure followers of repute, and his army must necessarily degenerate into a mob of desperadoes and vagabonds. His unfitness had already been demonstrated, for on a former expedition he had been unable to inspire respect or obedience among his men. These reports were said to have been given by persons of high standing who knew Oñate and had had dealing with him.¹²¹

Ponce on the other hand was represented as an admirable gentleman, an individual of such high standing and so well known in Mexico that he would at once secure a following of the best people in the province, since he intended to grant the latter all the profits on the new country. Ponce wished nothing for himself, but simply desired that any reward which he might receive for his service should be left entirely to the generosity of the king. In the eyes of the Council of the Indies Ponce was thus a distinguished and able man, while Oñate, whose contract had already been delayed by the viceroy, was painted in sordid

118. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 295.

119. Royal decree in report of the Council of April 7, 1596. A. G. I., 140-7-38. It is not printed by Hackett.

120. The Council to the king, April 25, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 299 ff.

121. Villagr a vigorously assails those who were spreading false reports about O ate and lauds the courage and fortitude which he showed under those attacks. *Historia*, I, 31.

colors. The Council desired that the king confirm the former immediately so that the Oñate expedition might be recalled before it was too late.¹²²

The King Suspends Oñate. Acting upon this advice the king decreed that instructions be given the Count of Monterey to suspend the execution of the contract which had been made with Don Juan.¹²³ He also authorized the Council to examine the proposals which Ponce offered for the conquest of New Mexico, and to reach an agreement with him if possible. The members of the Council could now rejoice, for the candidate of their choice had seemingly won.

After having expedited a formal decree to the viceroy of New Spain embodying the king's order to suspend Oñate,¹²⁴ the Council appointed the licentiate Agustín Alvarez de Toledo to confer with Ponce and to examine the conditions which he proposed for making the expedition.¹²⁵ Alvarez was also authorized to acquaint him with the details of Oñate's capitulations, and in addition to take note of how much more favorable terms Don Pedro would voluntarily offer for making the same conquest. A statement, drawn up in accordance with this order setting forth the claims of both Oñate and Ponce was therefore made and sent to the king, so that, as the Council suggested, he could see for himself that Ponce's offer was really much more advantageous than that of Don Juan. At the same time it definitely recommended that Ponce be awarded the contract and urged immediate action in order that he might be ready to sail with the fleet for New Spain. To this commendation the king was not averse,¹²⁶ and he therefore

122. The Council to the king, April 25, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 301.

123. Royal cédula in report of the Council of April 25, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303. See also *Historia*, I. 36, and "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico y sus acontecimientos. Años desde 1595 á 1602," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 191.

124. Royal cédula to the viceroy of Spain, May 8, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 303.

125. The Council to the king, May 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303.

126. The king usually accepted the advice of the Council of the Indies in all matters relating to the colonies. Moses, B. *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, I. 232-234.

ordered that an agreement be made with Ponce for the conquest of New Mexico.¹²⁷

Ponce's Liberal Offer. The statement which the Council referred to as showing the eminent desirability of Ponce's contract in preference to Oñate's, and of which a copy was sent to the king at the same time, has recently come to light in the Spanish archives.¹²⁸ It compares the terms offered by Ponce with those made by Don Juan and vividly shows the advantages of the former's capitulation.¹²⁹ For example Oñate had bound himself to enlist over two hundred soldiers and colonists; Ponce would increase this by one hundred mounted men. Don Juan had agreed to take 20,000 reales worth of flour, maize, wheat and jerked beef; Ponce offered to spend 39,000 reales for these materials.¹³⁰ Of live stock including cattle, sheep, goats, colts and mares, Oñate had provided for 6,400 head, but again Ponce completely outdid him by offering to increase this number to 13,900. Instead of six bellows, as Oñate had stipulated, Don Pedro would bring fourteen; in a group of materials including footgear, medicine, gifts to the Indians, paper, cloth, iron tools, and iron for horseshoes, Oñate's offer was completely eclipsed. His sum was 38,400 reales; that of Ponce 79,400. Twenty ox carts had been specified by Oñate; his competitor would provide thirty. In no case did any of Ponce's proposals fall below those made by his rival. The latter's personal equipment of horses, mules, saddles, arms,

127. The Council to the king, May 19, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 303-305.

128. "Statement of what Don Juan de Oñate and Don Pedro Ponce de León offer for the exploration, pacification, and settlement of New Mexico, [1596?]" in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 281 ff. It bears no date or signature, but it was made before May 19, 1596, since the Council states that a copy was sent to the king on that date together with its report regarding Don Pedro. Council of the Indies, May 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303. Furthermore it could not have been drawn up before May 2, for not till that time did the king order Oñate's contract suspended. At the same time he had authorized the Council to make a separate capitulation with Don Pedro. Royal cédula in report of the Council of the Indies of April 25, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303.

129. The statement is in double column, each article in Oñate's contract being paralleled by and contrasted with Don Pedro's offer.

130. The figures in Ponce's offer are given in reales, while on Oñate's side of the ledger they are expressed in pesos. For the sake of convenience in comparison I have converted the latter to reales.

etc., was, in general, increased an equal amount, and in addition Ponce would take shields, helmets, muskets and crossbows, for which no provision had been made by Don Juan. Moreover many of the concessions demanded by Oñate were not now mentioned.¹³¹ By this strong bid Ponce, Count of Bailén, thus strove to secure the honor of conquering New Mexico.

Ponce and Alvarez Negotiate. During the summer months of 1596, the licentiate Agustín Alvarez de Toledo, acting for the Council of the Indies, reached an agreement with Ponce for the proposed conquest, and forwarded it to the Council for approval. This was given, and the papers were then sent to the king for final confirmation September 7, 1596.¹³²

While the terms of a contract were being arranged the aspiring conqueror specified some particular things which he desired his contract to contain. Some of these requests have been preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain,¹³³ in the form of rough notes, evidently made by some clerk for the convenience of Alvarez or the Council.¹³⁴ They are, with one exception, undated and unsigned, but do contain decrees of approval or dissent and carry rubrics.¹³⁵ Their chief importance rests in the

131. Statement of what Oñate and Ponce offer, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 281. ff.

132. The Council to the king, September 7, 1596, in *ibid.*, 305.

133. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

134. "Don Pedro Ponce de León prays that your worship will propose to the members of the Council that they shall grant him what is stated in the following articles. [Madrid, April 23, 1596]," in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 295-299. The decrees approving or refusing these requests are not given by Professor Hackett.

135. These papers were published by Professor Hackett under date of April 23, 1596, which is date of a letter of Ponce de León, in which he elaborates on his reason for desiring to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. (See Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 295-299.) None of the other papers were written that early, as an examination of the internal evidence shows. It was not till May 2, 1596, that the king authorized the Council to look into the conditions proposed by Ponce, (Royal decree in report of the Council of the Indies of April 23, 1596, in *ibid.*, 301-303) and on May 19 that Alvarez was named to act for the Council. Moreover Ponce stated in one of these notes that a creditable person had come to Madrid from New Spain, bringing certain information which showed Oñate's inability to manage the expedition honorably; that his captains had left Mexico with only a handful of men, most of whom were half-breeds and mulattos; and that so many outrages had been committed that the viceroy and audiencia had been constrained to send an alcalde to punish the lawless

fact that they show us some special privileges which Ponce requested in order to make his venture successful. In particular he wanted to be made governor of Nueva Vizcaya on completion of the incumbent's term.¹⁸⁶ That would enable him to place a lieutenant in that government, and to order reinforcements sent to New Mexico without appealing to the officials in New Spain, which was usually a dubious affair and likely to involve ruinous delay.

Ponce's request was not granted. The king merely informed the governor of Nueva Vizcaya of the contract and ordered him to aid the new conqueror in whatever he might need and ask for, specifically requiring him to return any runaway soldiers found in Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁸⁷ That was as far as the king would go in this matter. He did not want the adelantado of New Mexico to become too powerful.

Nature of the Contract. The contract which the Council of the Indies had made with Ponce de León does not differ materially from the one which the viceroy had concluded with Oñate, though its provisions are, on the whole,

bands. This "creditable person" could not possibly have reached Madrid as early as April 23. On February 28 the viceroy had reported to the king (*Carta del conde de Monterey á S. M.*, February 28, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-15) that the New Mexico expedition was being recruited and that it was planned to carry out the march to the new province in June. On April 17 further reports were sent. Most of the colonists assembled in Mexico were then on the march, said the viceroy, and the rest would be hurried forward in order that the expedition might be made that year. (*El Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, April 17, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-15) No disturbances are mentioned, but when writing on November 15, (Monterey to the king, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 377, he reported that it had been necessary to send an alcalde, Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, to stop the outrages, "which were not so bad as rumor indicated." These complaints reached the viceroy by the first of June. (Order of Monterey, June 10, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*, A. G. I., 58-3-14) In view of the slowness of communication it is safe to state that the report did not reach Madrid till July or August, and that Ponce then sent his note to the Council.

Another point might be singled out for mention. Ponce's contract, approved September 25, 1596, allowed him to bring two ships of two hundred tons burden each to the Indies. This proved impracticable and he petitioned for permission to use vessels of different size, and to sail before the *flota*. (See Ponce's petition in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 297. The king's answer came on October 26, 1596, granting Ponce's request in full. (Royal cédula, in *ibid.*, 341) It would thus seem more accurate to date these papers in September rather than in April, 1596.

136. Petition of Ponce, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 297.

137. Royal cédula, October 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 327.

characterized by greater concessions to Ponce.¹³⁸ This is not strange in view of the fact that the latter had demanded less of the king and had promised to equip a larger expedition entirely at his own expense. Nor can we forget that the Council particularly favored his cause and seemingly urged him to accept favors at the hands of the king.¹³⁹

It has already been observed that Ponce agreed to assemble three hundred soldiers for the expedition, all to be recruited in the Indies. In order to enlist so many men every facility was placed at his command.¹⁴⁰ The supplies required for the support of the expedition after the new lands had been reached, the flour, maize, wheat, cattle, etc., remained the same as Ponce had first proposed to the Council early in 1596.¹⁴¹ One new article of importance provided that he would bring one hundred and thirty officials and servants of his own household to New Mexico, the married ones to be accompanied by their wives and families. In addition thereto one hundred soldiers might be recruited at home. After all, the entire three hundred need not be secured in the colonies, and the king instructed the Casa de Contratación to permit them to leave Spain.¹⁴² The order was in no way compulsory, only certain objectionable classes being prohibited from going to the Indies.¹⁴³

No export duties were to be paid by any of these men who enlisted in Spain, nor was Ponce to pay such duties. Cédulas embodying these favors were issued by the king and sent to officials in New Spain and Nueva Galicia.¹⁴⁴

138. It was approved by the king on September 25, 1596. *ibid.*, 305.

139. See the Statement of what Oñate and Ponce offer, in *ibid.*, 281-293, *passim*.

140. Contract and agreement with Don Pedro Ponce de León, September 25, 1596, in *ibid.*, 307-317. (Hereafter cited as Ponce's contract) For special cédula confirming this privilege, see *ibid.*, 323-325.

141. The contract reads that 290 colts and 290 mares were to be taken to New Mexico, which is evidently an error for 250. See Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 485 note 27. My copy of the same document also gives the number as 290.

142. Royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 335.

143. Licenses had to be procured for going to the Indies, and the emigrant had to prove himself an orthodox Catholic before it would be issued. Robertson, W. S. *History of the Latin-American Nations*, 124.

144. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 315; royal cédula, October 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 287-339.

In the personal equipment of the two conquerors we also find a decided difference. Ponce in particular had bound himself to bring an elaborate supply of materials for this purpose, presumably to emphasize the greater distinction of his own person.¹⁴⁵

There were also some special provisions in Ponce's contract with the king. He agreed to carry out its terms within a year and a half after it had been approved.¹⁴⁶ In Mexico his army was to be inspected by the viceroy in order that the king might know that he had fulfilled his obligations. On the whole he was to remain under the viceroy's supervision while in New Spain and Nueva Galicia, but as soon as New Mexico was reached he was to be wholly independent. He would then be directly responsible to the Council of the Indies. Civil cases involving one hundred pesos or more could be appealed to Spain, and the same was true of criminal cases where the sentence was death, or the permanent injury or removal of a limb. However the appeal might be made to the nearby *audiencia* of Nueva Galicia. Aside from these points Ponce was the highest source of justice within New Mexico.¹⁴⁷

Numerous aids and incentives were granted Ponce. He was made governor and captain-general with a salary of twelve thousand ducats,¹⁴⁸ twice the amount allowed Oñate. He could engrave stamps and dies with the royal arms to mark the precious metals. He could establish royal treasuries, name the officials thereof, and after these had become explorers and settlers, divide the Indians among them, even though there might be prohibitions against holding these two privileges at the same time.¹⁴⁹ Royal

145. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 309.

146. *Ibid.*

147. *Ibid.*, 317. A special *cédula* was issued concerning Ponce's independence of the officials in America, in which the viceroys and *audiencias* and other officials in New Spain and Nueva Galicia were warned of this fact. Royal *cédula*, October 26, 1596, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

148. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 212; special *cédulas* to this effect were issued, but the king was to be under no obligation to pay that salary if there was no money in New Mexico. *Ibid.*, 325; 339-341.

149. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 313; for special *cédulas*, see *ibid.*, 339.

funds might be used in suppressing rebellion, provided a majority of the royal officials approved.¹⁵⁰ He was privileged to make ordinances for the regulation of mines and the government, though royal sanction must be secured within three years. He could divide the province into districts and appoint officials, but royal approval must eventually be had. He might also name a cosmographer who was to make scientific descriptions of the province and to select suitable sites for the establishment of towns.¹⁵¹ Three cities were to be founded within six years, and in each Ponce agreed to construct a fort.¹⁵² After their completion he was to have command of them for the remainder of his lifetime with an annual salary of one hundred thousand *maravedis* for each one.¹⁵³ He would also build vessels to examine the rivers and parts of the North and South Seas in case his discovery should lead him to either of these bodies of water.¹⁵⁴

Concerning war materials more was given Ponce than his competitor. His allowance consisted of four pieces of artillery, forty quintals of powder, a hundred and thirty of lead,¹⁵⁵ and sixty quintals of fuse, for which he had petitioned the crown. If more powder should be needed this might be purchased in Mexico at the same rate as the crown had to pay.¹⁵⁶

Ponce de León was given some other powers similar to those granted Oñate, namely: the right to arrest anyone who might have entered New Mexico without authority;¹⁵⁷ to take along, as interpreter, an Indian woman who had come from that province;¹⁵⁸ and to give all the Indians of

150. This was a special concession. Royal cédula, October 12, 1596, in *ibid.*, 337.

151. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 313-319; for special cédulas, see *ibid.*, 329; 373; 331.

152. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 317.

153. The *maravedis* is an old Spanish coin worth about one sixth of a cent.

154. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 311.

155. *Ibid.*, 315.

156. Royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in Hackett *Hist. Docs.*, 329.

157. This refers to Bonilla and Humaña who made an unauthorized expedition to New Mexico in 1593.

158. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 315; royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in *ibid.*, 331-333.

New Mexico in encomienda among the soldiers and settlers of the first three generations. However the ports and capital cities must be reserved for the crown. Ponce was especially warned that all the royal regulations designed to protect the natives must be observed. One point was singled out for emphasis and provided that the aborigines should be taxed according to the New Laws of 1542.¹⁵⁹ If more than the proper amount of tribute should be exacted by an encomendero he was to be deprived of his encomienda and permanently disqualified from holding any such privilege again. Ponce was also permitted to give pasture and farm land to the settlers, but in order to acquire permanent title to such land the prospective owner had to "homestead" for five years. No taxes of any kind were to be levied on those who had erected sugar mills and used slaves to operate them, nor could a tax be put on the slaves or the equipment used.¹⁶⁰

A number of important exemptions were granted to Don Pedro Ponce. The customary royal fifth, always imposed on the precious metals, pearls and valuable stones, was reduced to a tenth during the first twenty years of the conquest.¹⁶¹ The much hated *alcabala*, or excise tax, universally despised in the Spanish-American colonies,¹⁶² was withheld for twenty years. Both of these privileges were to date from the time when the first town should be founded. Mention should also be made of the *almojarifazgo*, an import and export duty on all commerce, from which the colonists of New Mexico were freed for a decade.¹⁶³

Some additional articles of Ponce's contract remain to be noticed. All the officials in the army of soldiers and colonists were to be appointed by him, and the king's agents in America were specially instructed to give all possible aid.

159. Royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in *ibid.*, 323; for a summary of the New Laws, see Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 62-64.

160. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist Docs.*, 315-319; for special cédulas, see *ibid.*, 323; 335.

161. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 315; for special cédula, *ibid.*, 333.

162. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 131-132.

163. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 315-317.

Even if there were men in the army who had committed crimes they were not to be detained unless some one insisted on prosecuting them. As a special favor Ponce was permitted to take fifty negro slaves to the Indies free of duty, both in Spain and in New Spain. But thereupon the order was to be destroyed lest it be used again.¹⁶⁴ So carefully was the commercial monopoly guarded.¹⁶⁵

Then too Ponce was allowed to select his heir for the continuance of the conquest should he himself die before its completion.¹⁶⁶ Oñate, it will be recalled, was accorded the same privilege, subject to the approval of the viceroy of New Spain.

Ponce had petitioned the king for permission to leave the province of New Mexico at the end of six years after it had been explored and settled. This was granted, as was his request to leave a qualified substitute in his place.¹⁶⁷ Oñate's petition for the same privileges had been refused, but there is this point to be noted. Ponce asked to leave after having successfully completed his task, whereas Oñate desired freedom to go at any time wherever he pleased.

The privilege of becoming hidalgo was granted to Ponce's settlers, but the honor did not hold should they abandon the province.¹⁶⁸ This restriction was evidently designed to promote the growth of New Mexico as a Spanish province. Oñate's settlers had to remain only five years to win the coveted glory. Titles of *towns* and *cities* could be given by Ponce as a further inducement for going to New Mexico.¹⁶⁹ Political and military "plums" were to be distributed among the sons and grandsons of the original settlers, and they could not be deprived of their offices.¹⁷⁰

164. *Ibid.*, 319-321; for special cédulas, *ibid.*, 331; 339.

165. For an account of the mercantile system, see Haring, C. H. *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies*, chs. I and VI.

166. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 321.

167. *Ibid.*, 321; 343.

168. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 319; for special cédula, see *ibid.*, 343.

169. Given in two cédulas issued October 19, 1596. *ibid.*, 335-337.

170. Cédula of October 19, in *ibid.*, 337.

Regarding the missionaries who were to accompany the expedition and undertake the conversion of the land, Ponce had agreed to pay all their expenses. Jesuits had been procured for this purpose, and the contract so provided.¹⁷¹ But for some reason which does not appear a different arrangement had been made by October 28, 1596, Franciscans having been substituted for the Jesuits. On the date mentioned the king requested the Father Provincial of the Franciscan Order of New Spain to give Ponce six religious to engage in ministering unto the Indians of New Mexico.¹⁷² This remained the final disposition.

Ponce's Secure Position, 1596. It is thus evident that in September 1596, When Ponce's contract was approved by the king, his ascendancy was complete. The Council of the Indies supported him. Philip II had accepted the recommendations of his advisers seemingly without reserve. The contract read that "it is my royal and determined will that you and no other person whosoever shall undertake the said pacification, settlement, and exploration, or if it has been commenced by another that you shall continue and finish it."¹⁷³ In accord with this policy so forcefully expressed the king instructed the Count of Monterey of the royal will in this matter and of the necessity of detaining Don Juan de Oñate wherever he might be.¹⁷⁴ Truly there seemed to be no hope for him.

Reversal of Fortune, 1597. Nothing is known of what actually transpired between the first part of November, 1596, and the early part of February, 1597. It seems that Ponce passed through a critical illness,¹⁷⁵ and that his fortunes, on the whole, suffered a serious check. This change is seen in a letter of the Council to the king.¹⁷⁶ It reveals the fact that Ponce, previous to that date, had petitioned the

171. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 307.

172. Cédula of October 26, 1596, in *ibid.*, 343.

173. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 321.

174. Cédula of October 19, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 335.

175. The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 347.

176. The Council to the king, February 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 345.

king for the right to place a mortgage on his estate in order to complete his preparations for the expedition to New Mexico. If this was not favored he desired the king to loan him a certain sum which would enable him to carry on what he had begun. It further shows that the Council was still acting as spokesman for Ponce, urging that he should go very soon. When the Council wrote this report it had just received information from the viceroy of New Spain to the effect that Oñate had been advised of the *cédula* of May 8, 1596, stopping the expedition. With his army halted the opportunity for Ponce was as good as ever, and he was anxious to conclude the necessary arrangements. But the king again acted with deliberation. He asked to see the papers which Monterey had sent dealing with these matters.¹⁷⁷

In spite of the king's lack of warmth for Ponce's cause the Council reiterated its preference for him.¹⁷⁸ In a summary of the whole situation it pointed out that in December, 1595, Monterey had been dissatisfied with both Oñate and his contract. Now all this was changed. His recent letters had urged that Oñate be retained as leader of the expedition.¹⁷⁹ This change of heart displeased the Council. Ponce was ready to leave on eight days' notice. He had a brother in Seville preparing the ships, arms and provisions necessary. If a change should be made at that stage of affairs his reputation would suffer greatly. Such a rebuff would be an extremely poor reward for a man who had volunteered to serve his majesty with much spirit and generosity. Furthermore the Council charged that the doubt cast on Ponce's cause was the work of a brother-in-law of Oñate, an *oidor* of the *audiencia* of Mexico. His stand was that a captain coming from Spain would be unable to cope with conditions in the New World. But this was of minor

177. Royal decree in report of the Council of February 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 345.

178. The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 347.

179. The reference is to Monterey's letter of November 15, 1596. Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 377.

importance, maintained the Council, and it recommended that Ponce himself should bear the news of the king's decision to the Indies.¹⁸⁰

King Philip Suspends Ponce. On this occasion King Philip did not accept the advice of his royal Council. He felt that since Ponce was in poor health and lacked the necessary funds no immediate decision should be made. The Council was instructed to keep him in suspense for the time being, meanwhile making secret inquiry of the viceroy as to whether Oñate still had everything in readiness to continue the expedition. If so, he should be authorized to proceed to New Mexico, but if his force had fallen to pieces, the king was to be promptly informed.¹⁸¹ The Council, however, was in no mood to leave matters in such an uncertain muddle. Since Ponce was continuing his preparations at much expense it seemed proper that he be undeceived at once or that he be informed that no decision could be made for a year and a half.¹⁸² To this the king laconically replied that he should be informed that nothing could be determined for a year.¹⁸³

Shortly after these events had occurred the king's will was embodied in a formal *cédula* to the Count of Monterey. This was merely a repetition of his orders to the Council that Oñate should be permitted to conquer New Mexico if he was prepared to do so.¹⁸⁴ With this sudden termination Ponce's good fortune came to an abrupt end. As far as the expedition to New Mexico is concerned he is not heard of again. In fact nothing more is known of Don Pedro Ponce de León.

180. The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 347.

181. Royal decree in report of the Council of February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 349.

182. The Council to the king, March 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 349.

183. Royal decree in report of the Council of March 7, 1597, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 349.

184. Royal *cédula*, April 2, 1597, in *ibid.*, 345.

Chapter IV.

Oñate in the Wilderness

Preparing the Expedition. The contract which the viceroy made with Oñate was formally approved September 21, 1595, as we have seen,¹⁸⁵ and preparations for the great enterprise were soon under way. It was undertaken in feudal style. Important positions were given to wealthy friends and relatives. These did homage and swore fealty to Oñate and raised companies at their own expense.¹⁸⁶ Oñate's nephew Juan de Zaldívar was at once named *maestre de campo*; another nephew Vicente de Zaldívar became *sargento mayor*; the wealthy Juan Guerra de Resa was made lieutenant captain-general. Oñate's brothers Cristóbal and Luís Nuñez Pérez were made his personal representatives in Mexico.¹⁸⁷

The preparations were carried forward enthusiastically for a time. If we believe the picture given by Villagrà, the soldier-poet, a spirit of friendly helpfulness prevailed among the soldiers. Not even the bees, under the stimulus of the April sun, could make honey with greater haste than the future conquerors of New Mexico prepared themselves for their work. Proclamations were made in the most frequented streets, picturing the many privileges given to those who would serve in the conquest. Banners were hoisted, trumpets sounded, fifes played and drums beat. Mingled with these martial notes was the clamor of the soldiers who were burning with eagerness to set off for the land of promise, the "otro Mexico," immediately.¹⁸⁸

185. See chapter II of this study in Vol. I of the *Review*.

186. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 170; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 117.

187. They were given this power on October 19, 1595, in Zacatecas. *Aceptación de las capitulaciones*, December 15, 1595. A. G. I., 53-3-12. Villagrà mentions only Cristóbal. *Historia*, I, 29.

188. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 30.

The scenes enacted by Oñate and his followers resembled those which had occurred when Coronado organized his army in 1540, to explore the Northern Mystery. In the city of Mexico where only one recruiting squad was permitted, Vicente de Zaldívar was put in charge with authority to enlist both foot and horse. For this privilege his friends were so happy that they carried him to the palace to kiss the Count's hands. Proceeding to the grand plaza a salute of artillery was fired to indicate that enlistment was under way.¹⁸⁹

Opposition from Oñate's Foes. The start so brilliantly begun soon struck obstacles. Monterey the new viceroy entered upon his duties in Mexico in November, 1595,¹⁹⁰ and Oñate's contract was submitted to him for his approval.¹⁹¹ Office seekers flocked to his court, and among them were enemies of Oñate.¹⁹² These malcontents were probably the main element in prejudicing the viceroy against the enterprise.

Discouragement of the Soldiers. Before the two viceroys came to an agreement at Oculma in regard to Oñate's contract the uncertainty and delay caused by the change in government nearly ruined the army which had commenced to assemble. "It faded and dried up like an unwatered flower," said the poet. Gossip and slander had been so widely circulated that the soldiers lost faith in their leader and shamelessly believed the charges against him.¹⁹³ In an appeal to the king Oñate himself painted the difficulties under which he was working during the latter part of 1595. He complained that the delay in forwarding his warrants had occasioned enormous damage; that some of the soldiers had lost interest and were completely discouraged; and that the outlook was growing more dubious. It might not be pos-

189. Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 671.

190. *Ibid.*; Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 766.

191. See chapter II.

192. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 27; 30; Bancroft follows Villagrà, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 118.

193. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 31.

sible to carry out the expedition before the rainy season commenced. That possibility would involve great expense, and be extremely disheartening to the entire army.¹⁹⁴

By tactful management he succeeded, together with his lieutenant Juan Guerra de Resa, in preventing the break-up of the expedition, and at the conference of Monterey and Velasco at Oculma he was permitted to go on with the enterprise.¹⁹⁵

The news of that decision was sent to the camp by letter and caused an outburst of joy.¹⁹⁶ Recruiting again went forward with enthusiasm and the expedition was nearing completion in January, 1596, according to Oñate's claims.¹⁹⁷ Such a statement is probably an exaggeration, but it indicates that all was progressing as rapidly as could be expected.¹⁹⁸

At last nothing was lacking except the final warrants,¹⁹⁹ but trouble was brewing. During the Christmas season of 1595, Monterey carefully scrutinized Oñate's capitulation²⁰⁰ and concluded to limit his privileges in some important particulars. As already intimated it is possible that this decision was due to suspicions aroused by discontented fortune seekers disgusted at Oñate's success.

When the news of this additional misfortune reached the army it was thrown into utmost confusion. The angry soldiers turned on their leader again. It was clear to them that the privileges which had been so tantalisingly displayed at the time of enlistment had

194. *Carta de Don Juan de Oñate á S. M.*, December 16, 1595, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

195. See chapter II.

196. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 33.

197. Letter of Crist bal de O ate, [January, 1596]; order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Traslado de la visita que por comision del se or virrey tom  Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos   Don Juan de O ate, de la gente, armas y municiones que llev  para la conquista del Nuevo Mexico*, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter cited as *Ulloa visita*. See also Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 369.

198. The Vizcaino expedition to the Californias was being organized at this same time, and though Monterey had objections to it and was dubious of the outcome, he did not hinder its progress. Chapman, C. E. *History of California*, 124-126.

199. Letter of Crist bal de O ate, [January, 1596]; cf. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 33.

200. See chapter II.

been mere mockery. Charges of deception and even of treachery were leveled at him, and it was with much difficulty that their suspicions were allayed and order restored anew. The assistance of the faithful Juan Guerra seems to have been important in bringing this about.²⁰¹

Success in Enlisting Men. Oñate's representatives did not hesitate in coming to a decision in regard to the viceroy's limitations. These they accepted,²⁰² and then the governor was immediately given complete and final authority to go on with the enterprise.²⁰³ Additional facilities were also given for enlisting soldiers and Monterey thus felt that the journey to New Mexico could be made that season.²⁰⁴

In spite of the many reverses which had served to discredit the expedition the captains seemed to meet with success in securing men. The attitude of the viceroy had now changed and he was represented as friendly to the project. This aided in stimulating enlistment and many married men volunteered.²⁰⁵ In fact matters progressed so fast that on April 17, Monterey reported that almost all of the soldiers recruited in Mexico were already on the way to Zacatecas. Haste was necessary if the journey was to take place that year, as the viceroy realized, and he was hurrying along those who had not then departed.²⁰⁶

Arranging the Visita. At the same time Monterey was making other plans in order that Oñate might not leave Zacatecas for New Mexico with a smaller number of men and less supplies than he had agreed to bring. In order to safeguard the welfare of the soldiers and settlers in the army and to protect the Indians and possessions of the mining settlements in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya,

201. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 34-35.

202. Letter of Cristóbal de Oñate, [January, 1596].

203. *Aceptación del consentimiento que se hizo por Don Juan de Oñate á la moderación de las capitulaciones*, January 13, 1596. A. G. I., 58-3-15.

204. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, February 28, 1596.

205. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 671.

206. *Monterey á S. M.*, April 17, 1596. A. G. I., 58-3-12.

which were situated along the line of march, he determined to send a reliable officer to review the army. If we may believe his own words he appears to have been somewhat perturbed about the performance of this duty, because much suffering had already been caused Oñate and this inspection would probably give additional reason for complaint.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless he proposed in an *acuerdo de hazienda*, held on May 18, 1596, that the inspection should be held, and the plan was approved.²⁰⁸

With these necessary arrangements completed the Count nominated the captain of the viceregal guard, Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, as *juez visitador y teniente de capitán-general* for the New Mexico expedition. His instructions required him to overtake the colonists and accompany them from Zacatecas to Santa Bárbara in order to become thoroughly familiar with conditions in the army. The *visita* was not necessarily to be held at Santa Bárbara, but near there.²⁰⁹ Oñate's contract had stipulated that the army should be assembled at that place, the last settlement in the conquered territory, and there he should give proof of having fulfilled his obligations.²¹⁰ If the inspection proved that the requirements of the contract had been fulfilled he was to be permitted to go on, otherwise he should be detained.²¹¹

One other commission was given Don Lope de Ulloa. Recruiting was dragging on more slowly than had been anticipated. Some of the soldiers and colonists were still in Mexico on June 6, 1596, in spite of efforts to hurry them on toward Oñate's rendezvous. Small groups were departing

207. *Monterey á S. M.*, April 17, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

208. Order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

209. *Ibid.*; see also "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 191; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 35.

210. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 231.

211. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in *ibid.*, 377. Ulloa was also given several assistants. Antonio de Negrete, who had served in the royal council of Castile, was made *secretario*; Francisco de Esquivel, who had seen military service in Flanders and Portugal, was named *comisario*; and Jaime Fernández went as *alguacil*. See order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

for Zacatecas at irregular intervals, and it was rumored that they were disturbing the inhabitants and causing more or less property damage.²¹² These complaints reached the viceroy in the first part of June. To punish such offences and eliminate future occurrences Monterey gave Ulloa full power to deal with any trouble that might arise. At the same time he was to observe friendly relations with Oñate. The latter was to remain free to govern his people and to enforce military discipline. Ulloa should only interfere to protect the settlements or to punish those guilty of crimes. These special cases were left entirely to his discretion. As soon as the inspection had been held Oñate should be compelled, if it was successful, to continue the journey in order that he might enter New Mexico in August, 1596.²¹³ Monterey did not want the army to linger and excite the newly pacified areas of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya. These orders were fulfilled at once. On June 11, the various officers left Mexico to assume their duties.²¹⁴

On their journey northward Ulloa and his company carried letters from Monterey to Oñate, wherein he wished him the good fortune which so illustrious an individual and his distinguished relatives deserved, and bade him God-speed in the conquest. He did not desire that Oñate should be worried about the inspection which Ulloa was to make, and attempted to overcome objections by saying that it was ordered as a formality rather than because on any suspicions that the contract had not been fulfilled. These glad tidings were received with joy by the soldiers, for it seemed to augur a speedy march, and they celebrated with tournaments and merrymaking.²¹⁵

Appraising the Supplies. Before the inspection could take place certain preparations had to be made to enable

212. Order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

213. Order of Monterey, June 10, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

214. Report of Antonio de Negrete, June 11, 1596, *ibid*.

215. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 35.

Ulloa to hold it. Oñate, for example, had bound himself to take along five hundred pesos worth of medicine. Many other articles in the contract were given in the same manner.²¹⁶ In order to determine upon a scale of prices for the *visita* Monterey ordered that two appraisers should be chosen, one by the king and the other by Oñate, to make such an adjustment. This was done in Mexico City. Gordian Casasano, *contador* of the royal *alcabala* of New Spain, and Baltasar Rodríguez were chosen for this purpose by the respective groups.²¹⁷ They were to appraise the horseshoe iron, nails, footgear, medicine, iron tools, iron for making tools, paper, frieze and sackcloth, and things for bartering and for making gifts to the Indians, according to the prices prevailing in Zacatecas. Flour, maize, wheat and jerked beef, on the contrary, were to be regulated by the prices in the frontier towns of Guadiana (Durango), La Puana and Santa Bárbara. When the appraisers presented their report in Mexico on June 18, two of these items, the medicine and the things for the Indians, could not be definitely appraised, and they suggested that it would have to be done in Zacatecas.²¹⁸

Meanwhile Ulloa and his staff proceeded to Zacatecas where he soon delegated the second of his commissions, containing certain police powers, to the commissary Francisco de Esquivel, instructing him carefully to follow the army to Santa Bárbara and to punish all disorders. To simplify this task he was ordered not to permit the soldiers to scatter about; none were allowed to wander more than half a league beyond the *camino real*. Ulloa gave him full power for enforcing these measures and appointed an alguacil to assist him.²¹⁹

Inspecting the Medicine. Having relieved himself of these disciplinary functions Ulloa next turned his attention

216. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227-229.

217. Statement of Monterey, June 14, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

218. Report of Gordian Casasano and Baltasar Rodríguez, Mexico, June 18, 1596, in *ibid*.

219. Order of Don Lope de Ulloa, Zacatecas, July 19, 1596, in *ibid*.

to the inspection and ordered that the five hundred pesos of medicine which was to be valued according to the current Zacatecas price, should be appraised at once. To reach an agreement on this score he appointed as his agent Pedro de Vergara. At the same time Cristóbal de Zaldívar, Oñate's representative in the province, chose Alonso Sánchez Montemolín to cooperate with him.²²⁰ They appraised the materials in question, but the total value only amounted to three hundred and six pesos, or one hundred and ninety less than was required to fulfill the contract.²²¹

The Order of Suspension. The record of what happened during the next six weeks is almost a blank. We do know that the army continued marching, as it reached the Nazas river on September 9.²²² It is also clear that Oñate was completing his preparations for the inspection by purchasing such cattle and supplies as were still needed.²²³ Aside from that there was probably nothing to record.

While the soldiers were thus plodding forward discouraging news from Mexico was about to overtake them. In the latter part of July²²⁴ the viceroy received an order from the king, in response to his letter of December 20, 1595, suspending Oñate as leader of the expedition and prohibiting him from entering New Mexico. If the journey should already have commenced the army was to come to an immediate halt. He was to remain under that ban till the king pleased to order otherwise.²²⁵ This cédula had been ordered on recommendation of the Council of the Indies which was vigorously campaigning for Don Pedro Ponce de León in order that he might become the conqueror of New Mexico.²²⁶

220. Order of Ulloa, Zacatecas, July 20, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

221. Report of Pedro de Vergara and Alonso Sánchez Montemolín, Zacatecas, July 24, 1596, in *ibid.*

222. Notification to Oñate, Rio de las Nazas, September 9, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 351.

223. On August 24, 1596, Oñate was at Santa Catalina, three leagues from Aviño, where he contracted for a quantity of wheat. See *Ulloa visita*.

224. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 377.

225. Royal cédula, May 8, 1596, in *ibid.*, Villagrà, *Historia*, I. 36.

226. See chapter III.

When Monterey received the *cédula* he forwarded it to Ulloa, and accompanied it by an order of his own of August 12, 1596.²²⁷ In rigorous terms he added warning and severe penalties to the king's decree should it not be obeyed. Oñate was prohibited from going beyond the place where the *cédula* should be received, though Ulloa might allow him to go a few leagues, if he found it necessary to do so, to better hold the people. Any such arrangement had to be made in writing. Failure to comply with the king's *cédula*, was the dire threat, would mean the loss of all the privileges granted in the contract.

Oñate Dissimulates. The bitter news contained in these messages did not reach Oñate till September 9, 1596, while the army was camped at the Rio de las Nazas in Nueva Vizcaya.²²⁸ On that day there came hurrying to the camp a messenger asking *albricias*²²⁹ for the dispatch which he brought from the viceroy. Believing that it contained orders for the continuation of the journey he proclaimed good news, saying that the entire camp was finally ordered to enter New Mexico. But it was all a tragic mistake. When the seal was broken, and Oñate took the precaution to do this behind closed doors, it was found to be the royal order delaying the whole affair.²³⁰ Oñate however did not falter, but remained true to his king as on former occasions. He respectfully kissed the unwelcome letter and reverently placed it upon his head in token of obedience.²³¹

What was now to be done? If the army should learn the true nature of the message it would be demoralized. All were anxiously waiting to hear the news and Oñate soon satisfied their curiosity. Putting on a bold front he

227. Order of Monterey, August 12, 1596, in Villagrà *Historia*, I, 36-38; cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 191-192.

228. Notification to Oñate, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 351; Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in *ibid.*, 353.

229. Reward for some good news.

230. Villagrà *Historia*, I, 36; Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, -596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 371.

231. Notification to Oñate, in *ibid.*, 351; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 39.

too proclaimed good news; the entrada would be made without delay. The overjoyed soldiers gave vent to their feelings by displaying their skill on horseback. A race was first run, and then a tilting match was staged, led by the two best men in the camp, the Zaldívar brothers, Juan and Vicente. Oñate also celebrated by riding forth to witness the spectacle, and when he dismounted his gayly bedecked steed on returning to camp he gave the messenger the reward expected for the good news he had borne.²³²

This additional discouragement was hard to bear. Oñate had already suffered extraordinary expenses due to the earlier delays. His army had now been assembled practically a year and the situation was more dubious than ever before. It is true that there was still a ray of hope on the horizon. Further orders were expected from Spain by the fleet. It would come, at the very latest, in October.²³³ Hope was now pinned on the possibility that the king might countermand the decree of suspension.²³⁴ In the meantime he could not prevent the desertion of large numbers of the soldiers if they should learn the truth. Monterey took what precautions he could in order to help him in this respect, for there were rumors afloat in the city of Mexico that Don Pedro Ponce was coming to displace Oñate. This story had been learned in private letters from Madrid. To discredit them Monterey said as much as he dared in public to counteract such hearsay, and Ulloa dissimulated in the same manner in Oñate's army, where he was waiting to hold the inspection. If the fleet should arrive at the accustomed time, the expedition would thus be found intact.²³⁵

Juan Guerra Promises Aid. While Oñate was awaiting the receipt of such news, however, his supplies must deteriorate and losses of horses and cattle would be inevitable. Up till this time he had already expended more than one hundred thousand Castilian ducats on the expedition.

232. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 39-40.

233. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 379.

234. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in *ibid.*, 353.

235. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in *ibid.*, 379.

His captains and soldiers had spent more than twice that amount. They had sold their lands and would be practically destitute on the break-up of the army. This information was included in a report made by Ulloa's secretary, Antonio Negrete.²³⁶ It is perhaps a proper antidote to Villagr a's estimate of half a million *ducados largos* which O ate was said to have expended on the enterprise. It is at any rate clear that O ate was again in straightened circumstances. In his difficulty he turned to his friend and relative Juan Guerra de Resa, the lieutenant captain-general of the expedition, and revealed the actual condition of affairs to him. Juan Guerra had long ere this won distinction because of the great work and large sums of money he had spent in the service of the king, and he did not fail his friend now. "Like the illustrious Jacob, who, charmed by the beautiful Rachel wished to live with Laban again," so did Guerra once more desire to serve the king, and without considering the services he had already performed, pledged O ate one hundred thousand pesos annually from the income of his estates. He accepted joyfully.²³⁷

When the above events had transpired the expedition halted at the mines of Casco by Ulloa's order. The place proved an unfortunate stopping place, according to the poet, as it was barren of provisions, grazing land and water.²³⁸ These mines were reached November 1, 1596.²³⁹

Failure of the Fleet. The slender hopes which Don Juan had nourished regarding the arrival of additional news from the king that fall were shortly dashed to the ground. On October 22, Monterey dispatched a message,

236. Notification to O ate, September 9, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 351; O ate also pictures the poverty of the soldiers and colonists who had staked their all on the successful outcome of the expedition. O ate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in *ibid.*, 359.

237. Villagr a, *Historia*, I, 39-40.

238. *Ibid.*

239. "Discurso de las jornadas que hizo el Campo de su Magestad desde la Nueva Espa a   la provincia de la Nueva Mexico. A o de 1596, Ytinerario de las minas del Caxco, . . ." in *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 228-276. Hereafter cited as "Ytinerario."

notifying him that the ships had not left that year, and therefore no news could be expected till spring.²⁴⁰ The information was received on November 22, while the army was still at Casco. In view of this condition of affairs Oñate was again warned that the ban of suspension was still in effect. It was a desperate situation which he was facing, but no sign of disobedience was shown.²⁴¹ Villagr  tells how the viceroy tried to assuage Oñate's ruffled feelings by expressing the utmost confidence in him, but the poet scoffed at such condolatory expressions.²⁴²

Oñate Protests. While the army was worrying away the weary days at the mines of Casco renewed efforts were made by the leaders in this drama to influence the viceroy and the king for a favorable decision. Oñate sent a painstaking and exhaustive report to Monterey.²⁴³ Freely now did he express his emotions. He was quite beside himself with grief over the new misfortune and complained that the extreme penalties provided in the viceroy's order accompanying the royal c dula of suspension were unnecessary for a true and faithful vassal of the king. He protested that he had no intention to do otherwise than to obey, even though it might mean an extraordinary reversal of fortune for him, loss of all the money and labor expended, and irretrievable diminution of reputation and prestige. He promised obedience both in form and spirit, and volunteered to make every effort to hold the expedition together until his majesty ordered differently.

Facing the facts squarely Oñate informed Monterey that only a handful of soldiers or colonists would remain in the army should it be learned that a new leader was ex-

240. Order of Monterey, October 22, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*; "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 192; due to the wars in Europe only eleven fleets came to Vera Cruz between 1580 and 1600. Bourne, E. G. *Spain in America*, 285-286.

241. Notification to Oñate, November 22, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

242. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 41.

243. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 352-367.

pected. There were obvious reasons for this. The army was a feudal organization. Should Oñate and his chief officers go the key stone would fall from the arch. The soldiers would follow their old leaders whom they admired. Moreover Oñate had followed the customary methods of the frontier in organizing his army. He was accustomed to Indian warfare and had acted from experience. European methods of fighting would be futile against the natives. Consequently any one coming from Spain must necessarily be at a great disadvantage in managing an army organized to conquer a new province like the "otro Mexico."

Oñate thus argued that the threatening change of leadership would bring about the destruction of the expedition. Some had already deserted,²⁴⁴ and others were being retained by rather dubious means. These facts were soon seen by Ulloa, who was then with the expedition. He gave Oñate all the assistance at his command in preserving the intactness of the force. Don Juan appreciated this kindness. He was glad that all straggling bands of soldiers had been compelled to unite with the army. The evil these isolated groups had inflicted on the countryside was as bad for Oñate as for anyone else. The rumors of their depredations were giving the expedition a black eye and furnishing its enemies an opportunity to discredit its leader before the king.²⁴⁵

Oñate Requests an Inspection. While thus attempting to make secure his position as leader of the expedition Oñate was also seeking to safeguard his rights by giving proof of having fulfilled the contract. On November 1, a large part of the army reached Casco.²⁴⁶ Other parts were at Santa Bárbara and La Puana. Normally the inspection

244. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 369.

245. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in *ibid.*, 359.

246. See above.

would have been held without delay, but would if be done now that the enterprise was under suspension? It was a matter of importance for Oñate. Further delay might mean the distintegration of the expedition and he could be charged with failure to carry out his obligations. Responsibility for defeat would therefore be his own. But he justly insisted that the inspection was also necessary to fulfill the king's duty toward him, and so he earnestly beseeched Monterey to order Ulloa to carry it out. He wanted to demonstrate that the contract had been liberally furnished, and that poverty, which had been ascribed to him in public, was unfounded. "Upon your lordship's doing me this favor depends all my reputation, honor and credit." It would be of material help in preventing desertion among the soldiers since they would feel that preparations for departure were steadily progressing.

Moreover though the status of his future part in the enterprise was so doubtful he requested permission for the entire camp to move forward to Santa Bárbara, the last settlement on the frontier. The valley in which it lay was a fertile region where the expense of supporting the army would not be so great. There the inspection could conveniently be held and the army could settle down to await the king's pleasure at the minimum cost. Oñate had no ulterior motives in mind when asking for these favors. He gave his word of honor not to advance a step beyond Santa Bárbara without express order from the viceroy. If Don Pedro Ponce or some one else should be given the leadership of the expedition he promised to make no disturbance whatever.²⁴⁷

Santiago del Riego's Appeal. Doctor Santiago del Riego, an *oidor* of the audiencia gave his support in this cause, and sent an impassioned appeal to the king in favor of Oñate. He maintained that expeditions coming from Spain were never successful, because those who enlisted in

247. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 365-367.

Europe were usually poor people attracted by false promises of mountains of gold. When it was learned how thoroughly the truth had been concealed from them and how greatly they had been deceived they would cry out to God in their misfortune, and worst of all, return home-- broken. After making a brief summary of the things required for such an expedition as Oñate's, he exclaimed:²⁴⁸

What man, indeed, in these kingdoms will wish, or be able, to help the people procure these things? What length of time will he need to secure it all? How will he succeed in providing it with four or five thousand head of cattle which must be taken ahead for food unless he wishes to enter by robbing the Indians in their poverty? How will he provide four or five thousand quintals of biscuit which will be needed for the road and the interval until they begin to cultivate and work the land? How will he provide fifty or more carts with the awnings which will be needed for the trip, and other things that are necessary for such a long journey, and at the least more than twelve hundred oxen which will be needed to draw them?

Santiago del Riego asserted that this mass of supplies, plus an infinite number of other things that would be needed, could not be secured for one hundred thousand ducats by any one bringing an expedition from Spain. Experience had proven moreover that armies organized in the Indies usually achieved brilliant success, and he recalled the work of Cortés and Pizarro as proof of his contention. Furthermore he argued:

With what justice can the expedition be taken away from the one who made the contract and agreement with two viceroys who represented the person of your Majesty? What he spent in virtue of this agreement, which must be a very large sum, he must lose, and the viceroys, who make the contract in the name of your Majesty, must cheat their liegemen, which does not seem to be just. . .

248. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 371. Riego mentioned several men who had come with expeditions from Spain and had failed. He named Serpa, in New Andalucía; Juan Ponce in Florida; Luis de Carbajal in New León; and others whose identity has been lost.

Monterey Consults the Audiencia. The pressure which Oñate and his friends thus brought to bear on the viceroy had the desired effect. His attitude changed, but he was nevertheless perplexed as to what course of action to pursue toward him when the fleet failed to come. What should he do if some of Oñate's men strayed off or broke away and left for New Mexico contrary to the royal orders? Finally he determined to bring the whole affair to the attention of the audiencia in order to learn its opinion. It felt however that nothing should be done until the king's will was known, and that in the meantime Oñate should remain at the head of the army. It was still possible that ships would soon come bringing definite orders from Spain. Till then the expedition ought to be preserved. But Monterey was not satisfied with the Council's recommendation. He continued to urge upon the king the desirability and necessity of continuing the enterprise as then constituted, but at the same time he refused to assume the responsibility of sending the army on to New Mexico, and the audiencia likewise declined to take upon itself any part of the viceroy's burden.²⁴⁹

Reasons for Favoring Oñate. In order to convince the king and the Council of the Indies of the very good reasons why Oñate should be allowed to carry out the conquest the viceroy sent them a detailed list of notes, including his own opinion, that of the audiencia and others, in regard to the matter.²⁵⁰ These documents are of interest and importance. They indicate why the king at last approved Oñate for this enterprise when Ponce's cause began to weaken.

First of all, Oñate's contract had been legally made. If the project should be committed to another he would have a claim, which could not be denied, to collect interest from the crown on the expenses incurred.

249. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 379; report of the fiscal, in *ibid.*, 391.

250. Reasons why Oñate should go to New Mexico, November 15, 1596, in *ibid.*, 383-389; report of the fiscal, in *ibid.*, 389-395.

Many had sold or mortgaged their estates and brought their families with them on the expedition. If not permitted to go their plight would be serious, all of which ought to be taken into consideration.

If the soldiers were disbanded they would scatter all over the country, and robberies and outrages might be perpetrated on the inhabitants. Some might join the Indians and excite them to adopt their old habits as bandits and thieves, thereby breaking the peace which had recently been established.²⁵¹

There was danger that some of the soldiers might unite and go to New Mexico without authority. They would probably mistreat the Indians and discredit the Spaniards and their religion. In that case future attempts to pacify the country would be extremely difficult.

The annoying disturbances that New Spain and Nueva Galicia had experienced while the expedition was being organized would have to be endured again, should Oñate's following be dispersed.

Oñate's expedition had been highly esteemed among the people. If now defeated it would be virtually impossible to find any one in the Indies willing to organize such an expedition, and no one would enlist.

Should another army be equipped long delays would occur. As the chief purpose of the conquest was the conversion of the natives, for which Oñate was well prepared, that mission must necessarily be jeopardized.

There was very serious doubt as to whether any one coming from Spain and without property in the New World, could collect, by money alone, the people and supplies necessary.

Moreover at the head of the expedition should be a man accustomed to deal with the Indians. Experience had demonstrated that a person coming from Spain did not pos-

251. The reference is probably to the peace established along the frontier by Velasco in 1591. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, II 763-764.

sess that quality in a high degree, and was accordingly an important reason for retaining Oñate.²⁵²

The Delay of the Inspection. Meanwhile the army was still stationed at the Casco mines where the goddess of good fortune seemed unable to find it. The inspection which Ulloa had been delegated to perform was still awaited. The viceroy stated it had been postponed because Oñate did not lead the expedition to the last settlement, and that he did not arrive there in time to make the entrance, as had been ordered. But this was clearly impossible as the *cédula* of suspension had prohibited him from taking another step unless by Ulloa's written order. The real reason is probably to be sought elsewhere. Perhaps Ulloa had been ordered not to hold the inspection if he believed that Oñate could pass it satisfactorily, as he would then be able to charge interest on his expenditures. This idea is ascribed to the *audiencia* and may be true. At the same time, so runs this story, should Oñate threaten to hold the inspection without Ulloa's presence, then it should be done by the latter in order to avoid any opportunity for fraud, "and in order that it should not appear as though the truth were not being sought." Furthermore both Monterey and the *audiencia* were agreed that Ulloa should remain with the expedition regardless of the expense involved, since the soldiers would certainly be undeceived and immediately disperse when his departure became known.²⁵³

As the weeks continued to roll by without further developments the soldiers finally despaired and the army was on the verge of disintegration. At that moment Oñate received help from an unexpected quarter. Doña Eufemia, wife of the *real alférez* Peñalosa, a woman of singular valor, beauty and intelligence, according to the poet, harangued the soldiers in the plaza. But it does not appear that

252. Reasons why Oñate should go to New Mexico, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 385-387; report of the fiscal, in *ibid.*, 393-395.

253. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 383.

her appeal to the courage and honor of the colonists had more than momentary effect. They continued to leave. As Villagr  said, "Weak souls cannot desist from their intent."²⁵⁴

Meanwhile O ate's trouble increased with the dissatisfaction of his men. He was growing very impatient over the endless excuses advanced by Ulloa for not making the *visita*. On November 28, 1596, he explained to Ulloa that his army was assembled at the Casco mines and at Santa B rbara. This had entailed heavy expense. Supplies were running low, soldiers deserting, cattle horses and mules being lost, and New Mexico was still far away. He therefore demanded an immediate inspection. Ulloa however paid little attention to this appeal. It was repeated on the same day, but he merely acknowledged acceptance of the message.²⁵⁵ On December 2, and again on the 5, O ate renewed his request, with the same result.²⁵⁶

The Inspection Ordered. On December 9, the inspector delayed no longer. O ate had in the meantime threatened to hold it himself before a royal notary. Replying to his appeals Ulloa signified his readiness to carry out the *visita* even though it would be very expensive for the king as the expedition was widely scattered. However such action was not to be construed as repealing the orders prohibiting the continuation of the *entrada*.²⁵⁷ Thereupon he ordered O ate to take oath that all the supplies and other materials offered for inspection were his own, and that nothing had been given him simply for the purpose of making a creditable showing.²⁵⁸

254. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 42.

255. O ate to Ulloa, November 28, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*; cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 192-193.

256. O ate to Ulloa, December 2, and 5, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

257. Order of Ulloa, December 9, 1596, in *ibid*.

258. Second order of Ulloa of December 9, 1596, in *ibid*. Moreover if anyone had loaned anything to O ate he must appear within three days to make a statement thereof. Four soldiers reported that they had sold certain goods to him. They were Juan Moreno de la Rua, Captain Pablo de Aguilar, Alonso G mez and Captain Joseph

The inspection at Casco was then begun, but dragged on for more than two months. Practically every class of goods showed a substantial surplus, and there were quantities of supplies which had not been specified in the capitulations. Of medicine there was still a deficit, though some additional things had been forwarded by Cristóbal de Zaldívar from Zacatecas. To overcome this deficiency Oñate requested that some supplies of sugar, oil, wine and other things be substituted, as these were essential for sick people. In this manner all difficulties were swept aside and the inspection at Casco was concluded toward the end of January, 1597.²⁵⁹

Again there came a break in Oñate's plans. On January 26, just as the inspectors were ready to go to Santa Bárbara to continue the visita at that place, word was received from Mexico that Ulloa had been appointed commander of the Philippine *flota* for that year. Oñate therefore immediately requested him to go to Santa Bárbara to complete the inspection, protesting that if Ulloa did not do so and if the inspection showed any deficits the responsibility would not be his. But Ulloa did not want to go to Santa Bárbara. He was willing to finish the job at Casco. To the more distant place he would send the commissary Esquivel.²⁶⁰ The latter was accordingly provided with the necessary power for that purpose.²⁶¹

Before Ulloa left for Mexico Oñate tried to secure a statement from him in regard to the elaborate equipment of the expedition when the order of suspension came. The visitor however did not feel that his instructions would permit him to do as Oñate suggested. For that reason he agreed that he might make such a record himself.²⁶²

On February 1, 1597, Oñate and the inspecting officers left Casco for Santa Bárbara, twenty-eight leagues

259. See the *Ulloa visita* for January 31, 1597.

260. Oñate to Ulloa and reply, January 27, 1597, in *ibid.*

261. Order of Ulloa, January 30, 1597, in *ibid.*

262. Oñate to Ulloa and reply, January 30, 1597, in *ibid.*; cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 194-195.

distant.²⁶³ They arrived there four days later, and on the 5, commenced the final part of the inspection.²⁶⁴ By the 19, all the supplies had been listed with the exception of certain extra goods which Oñate and the soldiers had brought along. The governor claimed to have forty thousand pesos worth of negro slaves, Chichimecas, clothing, wrought silver and numerous other things. Others in the expedition had similar possessions of great value which amounted to more than one hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Oñate insisted that all this should be recorded. There was some basis for his claim. Monterey had so ordered in his instructions to Ulloa, as Esquivel realized, but he replied that the latter had not given him the necessary authority. With that the matter dropped.²⁶⁵

When it was seen that nothing was lacking of what was required Esquivel issued an order, already promulgated by Ulloa on January 30, prohibiting Oñate from moving the army till orders should be received from the viceroy. As on previous occasions Don Juan promised to comply.²⁶⁶

The Successful Completion. Before the end of February Esquivel finished his task. At the mines of Casco there were found to be one hundred and thirty-one soldiers, at Santa Bárabara thirty-nine and at La Puana thirty-five. The total number thus amounted to two hundred and five, or five more than Oñate was obliged to furnish. Of supplies and provisions there was a surplus of well over four thousand pesos.²⁶⁷

The fact that Oñate had been able to make such a fine

263. The "Ytinerario" gives this distance as twenty-four leagues. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 229-231.

264. Report of Esquivel, February 4, in *Ulloa visita*.

265. Oñate to Esquivel and reply, February 19, 1597, in *Ulloa visita*; cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 196-197.

266. Order of Esquivel, February 18; Oñate's reply, February 19, 1597, in *Ulloa visita*.

267. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 196.

showing after having experienced an almost endless series of delays was clearly a tribute to his leadership and to the support of his wealthy lieutenant Juan Guerra de Resa and others. Under the circumstances it was a source of wonder to all New Spain, says the chronicler. As soon as the result was known Oñate's brothers in Mexico appealed to the viceroy for permission to proceed. But Monterey was still awaiting orders from Spain and unable to do anything in their behalf. He did write encouraging letters, pointing out that it was still possible that matters might be successfully adjusted.²⁶⁸ In this there was small comfort indeed.

268. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 43.

FRAY MARCOS DE NIZA AND HIS DISCOVERY OF THE SEVEN CITIES OF CIBOLA

PERCY M. BALDWIN, PH. D.

Although Fray Marcos de Niza (Friar Mark of Nice) was the first white man who *indisputably* set foot on the soil of New Mexico,¹ there has hitherto been published no good translation into English of his *Relación*, or the report which he made to his official superiors upon his return. Indeed, the only previous translation that I have been able to discover is one given in Haluyt's *Voyages*² and this was not made from the original Spanish, but from a very imperfect Italian rendering by Ramusio.³ A French version may be found in Ternaux-Compans' *Voyages*⁴ and this was made from the Spanish manuscript copy at Simancas, but unfortunately it is a careless and unreliable piece of work,⁵ The present translation has been prepared from the printed copy contained in the *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias* (Vol. III, pp. 325 *et seq.*).

The report of Fray Marcos raised to fever heat the

1. Mr. Twitchell and others have accorded this honor to Cabeza de Vaca, but the claim is rejected by most historians.

2. Hakluyt, Richard: *Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries*. The "Relation" of Fray Marcos is in Vol. IX of the Glasgow edition of 1904 and in Vol. III of the London edition of 1810. It is also given as an appendix to Mrs. Bandelier's translation of *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca from Florida to the Pacific, 1528-1536*; New York, 1905.

3. Ramusio, Giovanni Battista: *Navigazioni et Viaggi*. 3 Vols., Venice, 1554-1583. The translation of Fray Marcos's report is in Vol. III, pp. 356 A-359 D.

4. Ternaux-Compans, Henri: *Voyages, Relations, et Mémoires Originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*. Paris, 1837-1841. The translation of the "Relation" is in tome IX, pp. 256-284. At the end of it appears the following note: "J'ai collationné cette copie avec l'original, qui est à Simancas, le 3 septembre, 1781.--Juan Bautista Muñoz."

5. Several examples of this are quoted in footnotes to the translation given herewith and more are mentioned by Bandelier (article cited below), who, however, was in error in thinking that Ternaux-Compans translated from Ramusio.

interest of the Spanish adventurers in "the seven cities of Cibola" and Coronado's army set out with high hopes of duplicating or surpassing the exploits of Cortés in Mexico. When these hopes were grievously disappointed and, instead of marvellous cities exceeding in wealth and grandeur anything yet discovered in the New World, were found only the Indian pueblo villages of Zuñi and its neighborhood, the father was roundly traduced as a liar. Cortés, at the court of Madrid in 1540, declared that the report was simply an elaboration of some information which he (Cortés) had received from Indians and which he had communicated to the Friar and he alleged that the Friar, in thus relating what he had neither seen nor heard, was merely following a practice for which he had become notorious in Peru and Guatemala.⁶ This charge is grotesque, because Fray Marcos accompanied Coronado to Cibola and, had he not been over the ground previously, the fact would have become painfully evident as the expedition proceeded.

However, this does not clear the Friar of the charges of exaggeration preferred against him by Coronado himself.⁷ Castañeda de Nagera, the principal chronicler of the Coronado expedition, gives a story of Stephen Dorantes' death and subsequent events which differs in several particulars from the "Relation." He says the Indians killed only Stephen and let his companions go and that when these met the "friars" (plural), they incontinently fled, so that they never came within sight of Cibola.⁸ This is tantamount to a charge that the Friar's report, presented immediately after his return and solemnly sworn to, was deliberately falsified to cover an act of cowardice. But Castañeda is evidently wrong when he speaks of there being three friars,

6. Smithsonian Institution: *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, in article by Winship on "The Coronado Expedition," p. 367.

7. Letter of Coronado to the Emperor, October 20, 1541. Given by Ternaux-Compans, IX, 362, and by Winship, *op. cit. supra*, p. 583.

8. Winship's translation of Castañeda, *op. cit. supra*, p. 475. Or, Hodge's translation in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1542*, p. 290; New York, 1907.

whom he mentions by name as Marcos, Daniel, and Antonio de Santa Maria. Fray Marcos expressly speaks of his being alone and having no one with whom he could take counsel, having left his companion Onorato (not Daniel nor Antonio) behind at Vacapa. His official superiors must have known how many companions he had and an error on this point would have been obvious. Castañeda's account was written more than twenty years after the events he describes and, when it comes to a question of his word against the Friar's, there is certainly no reason to accept his.

Some historians have been almost as unkind to Fray Marcos as were his contemporaries. Ternaux-Compans speaks disparagingly of him⁹ and Haynes, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, says: "We think that he fairly deserves the epithet of the 'lying monk,' which has been bestowed upon him, in spite of the air of probability which pervades the greater part of his narrative."¹⁰ On the other hand, as John G. Shea remarks: "Haynes follows his real narrative and does not note a single statement as false or bring any evidence to show any assertion untrue."¹¹ F. H. Cushing has brought to light Indian traditions which corroborate a part of the Friar's story.¹² A. F. Bandelier has stoutly defended him and has given plausible explanations of all his statements, as well as traced his probable route, in his *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*.¹³ J. P. Winship, in discussing his credibility writes: "Friar Marcos undoubtedly never wilfully told an untruth about the country of Cíbola, even in a barber's chair."¹⁴ C. F. Lummis goes so

9. Ternaux-Compans, *op. cit. supra*, tome IX, "Preface de l'éditeur français," pp. v-vi.

10. *Op. cit.*, II, 499.

11. Shea, John Gilmary: *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 117, footnote.

12. In *The Magazine of Western History*, cited by Bandelier in *Southwestern Historical Contributions*, p. 106.

13. Bandelier, *op. cit.*, in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Amer. series, Vol. V, pp. 106-178.

14. Winship, *op. cit. supra*, p. 366.

far as to say warmly: "He has been accused of misrepresentation and exaggeration in his reports; but if his critics had not been so ignorant of the locality, of the Indians and of their traditions, they never would have spoken. Fray Marcos's statements were absolutely truthful."¹⁵

The Friar himself, in concluding his report, says: "I simply tell what I saw and what was told me concerning the countries where I went and those of which I had information." All through his narrative he is careful to distinguish between observation and hearsay and certainly nothing that he states from observation can be set down as deliberately false. On the contrary, as Bandelier has shown, it conforms pretty accurately with what we know of the ethnology and topography of the region over which he travelled.

There are, however, two statements for which he vouches that are open to question. One is his observation have made an error here of about $3^{\circ} 30'$ in his latitude that in 35° the coast suddenly turns to the west. He must which does not say much for the knowledge of cosmography that Fra. Antonio ascribes to him and which is given as one of the reasons why he was chosen for the exploration. Even with the crude instruments of those days, $31\frac{1}{2}$ degrees is a large error. But the most puzzling point is that at a previous point in his journey he had found himself 40 leagues from the coast and his subsequent traveling must have led him away further still. Bandelier estimates that he must have been 200 miles away,¹⁶ and seems to think that he made a special trip to the coast to ascertain its direction. But nothing in the text would indicate that he made any such important deviation from his route. He was hurrying on after Stephen Dorantes and he was only a day's march from Cíbola when he met the fugitive who gave him the first news of Stephen's disastrous end. This lone observation of our cosmographer-priest is unfortunately of no as-

15. Lummis, Charles Fletcher: *The Spanish Pioneers*, p. 80.

16. *Op. cit. supra*, p. 143.

sistance to us in determining his route. Nowhere else does he mention his latitude and he gives only vague clues as to the direction in which he is marching.

The other dubious statement is that, from a distance, Cíbola appeared to him bigger than Mexico. Castañeda later wrote: "There are mansions in New Spain which make a better appearance from a distance,"¹⁷ and he tells us that Fray Marcos found it unsafe to remain with Coronado's army when his exaggerations became apparent, and returned to New Spain. However, allowance must be made for the difference in point of view. Friar Mark had been given many glowing accounts of the greatness of Cíbola by the Indians; these accounts had checked with one another and the Indians had been truthful in all else. His mind was primed to expect a big city and no doubt distance lent enchantment to the view. After all, his was only common human failing of being prone to believe what he wanted to believe and to see what he wanted to see.

It is altogether probable that the accounts which the adventurers in Coronado's army had heard were grossly exaggerated and garbled versions of Fray Marcos's report. It is possible that some of these got into print and that one of them was used by Ramusio for his Italian version. How else can one explain the extraordinary interpolation in connection with the description of Cíbola? (See page 218) It is difficult to believe that Ramusio invented it and deliberately foisted it into the text. Certainly Fray Marcos should not be held responsible for these embellishments of his narrative.

In one respect, at any rate, the Friar deserves our admiration. He is fair to the Indians at every point. He describes their joy at being set free by Mendoza; he draws attention to their agriculture being neglected due to warlike raids upon them by the "Christians" of San Miguel; he will not break faith with the messengers he sent to the

17. Winship, *op. cit. supra*, p. 483.

sea coast from Vacapa; he declines to receive gifts from the aborigines in a country where white men have not been previously known; he gratefully acknowledges their hospitality and aid at every stage of his journey; he testifies to their great truthfulness; he does not blame them when they manifest a hostile disposition towards himself after the massacre of their companions; he evidently regards their anger as arising naturally from their grief and says that it would be against his will if Christians should come to avenge his death. He seems to be moved throughout by missionary zeal and there is no reason to suppose him insincere, even though, as Castañeda insinuates, the ambition to be elected Father Provincial of his order may not have been absent from his thoughts.

When all is said, the fairest treatment we can give him is to let him speak for himself, and therefore the subjoined translation of his "Relation" is given for the benefit of the readers of the *New Mexico Historical Review*. The report is written in a naïve style that does not lack interest and we feel sure that New Mexicans will be willing to accord the discoverer of their land an attentive hearing.

INSTRUCTION OF DON ANTONIO, VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN

[Fray Marcos de Niza, this is what you have to do in the expedition which you are undertaking for the honor and glory of the Holy Trinity, and for the propagation of our holy catholic faith].¹

First: As soon as you arrive at the province of Culiacan, you shall exhort and encourage the Spaniards, who reside in the town of San Miguel, to treat well the Indians who are at peace and not to employ them on excessive tasks, assuring them that if they do so, they shall find favor with and be rewarded by H. M. for the labors

1. This introductory paragraph is given by Ternaux-Compans. It is not in the *Documentos inéditos*.

which they have there undergone, and in me they shall have a good supporter for their claims, but if they do the contrary, they shall be punished and out of favor.

You shall give the Indians to understand that I send you, in the name of H. M., to order that they be treated well, and that they may know that he is afflicted by the affronts and injuries which they have received, and that henceforward they shall be well treated, and that those who do them harm shall be punished.

Likewise you shall assure them that they shall no longer be made slaves, nor removed from their lands, but that they shall be left free on them, without hurt or damage; that they shall lose their fear and recognize God Our Lord, who is in heaven, and the Emperor, who is placed by His hand on earth to rule and govern it.

And as Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, whom H. M. has appointed governor of that province, will go with you to the town of San Miguel of Culiacan, you must advise me how he provides for the affairs of that town, in what concerns the service of God Our Lord and the conversion and good treatment of the natives of that province.

And if by the aid of God Our Lord and the grace of the Holy Ghost, you shall find a way to go further and to enter the country beyond, you shall take with you Stephen Dorantes for a guide, whom I order that he obey you in all and by all that you command him, as he would myself, and, if he does not so, he shall be in jeopardy and shall incur the penalties which befall those who do not obey persons who hold power from H. M. to command them.

Likewise the said governor, Francisco Vazquez, has with him the Indians who came with Dorantes and some others, that it has been possible to gather from those parts, in order that, if to him and to you both it may seem advisable that you take some in your company, you may do so and may use them as you see is good for the service of Our Lord.

You shall always arrange to go in the safest manner possible, and inform yourself first if the Indians be at

peace or war with one another, that you may give them no occasion to commit any indiscretion against your person, which would be the cause of proceeding against them and chastizing them. If such were the case, instead of doing them good and bringing them light, it would be the opposite.

You shall take much care to observe the people that there are, whether they be many or few, and if they are scattered or live close together.

Note the quality and fertility of the soil, the climate of the country, the trees and plants and domestic and wild animals, which there may be, the nature of the ground, whether rugged or level, the rivers, whether great or small, and the stones and metals which there are in the country. Send or carry back samples of such things as it is possible to do so, to the end that H. M. may be advised of everything.

Always endeavor to obtain information about the sea coast, that of the North as well as that of the South, because the land may narrow and in the country beyond some arm of the sea may enter. And if you come to the coast of the South Sea, bury letters concerning whatever may appear to you noteworthy, on the prominent points, at the foot of some tree distinguished for its size, and on the tree make a cross so that it may be known. Likewise make the same sign of the cross and leave letters by the most remarkable trees near the water, at the mouths of rivers and at places suitable for anchorage. Thus, if we send ships, they will go advised to look for such signs.

Always arrange to send news by the Indians, telling how you fare and are received and particularly what you may find.

And if God Our Lord be pleased that you find some large town, where it may seem to you that there is a good situation to establish a monastery and to send religious to undertake the work of conversion, send word by Indians or return yourself to Culiacan. Send such word with all secrecy, in order that what is necessary may be provided

without commotion, because in bringing peace to the country which may be found, we look to the service of Our Lord and the good of the inhabitants.

And although all the earth belongs to the Emperor our lord, you in my name shall take possession of the country for H. M., and you shall erect the signs and perform the acts, which seem to you to be required in such case, and you shall give the natives of the country to understand that there is a God in heaven and the Emperor on the earth to command and govern it, to whom all men must be subject and whom all must serve.—*Don Antonio de Mendoza.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT

I, Fray Marcos de Niza, of the order of St. Francis, declare that I received a copy of these instructions signed by the most illustrious lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, the which was delivered to me, by command of his lordship and in his name, by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, governor of this New Galicia. The said copy is taken from these instructions *de verbo ad verbum*, corrected by them and made to agree with them. I promise faithfully to fulfill the said instructions and not to go against nor to exceed them in anything therein contained, now or at any time. And as I will thus adhere to and fulfill them, I sign hereto my name, at Tonala, on the twentieth day of the month of November in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight, where were given and delivered to me in the said name the said instructions, and which is in the province of this New Galicia.—*Fra. Marcos de Niza.*

RELATION

With the aid and favor of the most holy Virgin Mary, our Lady, and of our seraphic father St. Francis, I, Fray Marcos de Niza, a professed religious of the order of St. Francis, in fulfillment of the instructions above given of the most illustrious lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor for H. M. of New Spain, left the town

of San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan, on Friday, March 7th, 1539. I took with me as companion Friar Honoratus and also Stephen of Dorantes, a negro, and certain Indians, which the said Lord Viceroy bought for the purpose and set at liberty. They were delivered to me by Francisco de Coronado, governor of New Galicia, along with many other Indians from Petatlan and from the village of Cuchillo, situated about fifty leagues from the said town. All these came to the valley of Culiacan, manifesting great joy, because it had been certified to them that the Indians were free, the said governor having sent in advance to acquaint them of their freedom and to tell them that it was the desire and command of H. M. that they should not be enslaved nor made war upon nor badly treated.

With this company as stated, I took my way towards the town of Petatlan, receiving much hospitality and presents of food, roses and other such things; besides which, at all the stopping-places where there were no people, huts were constructed for me of mats and branches. In this town of Petatlan I stayed three days, because my companion Friar Honoratus fell sick. I found it advisable to leave him there and, conformably with the instructions given to me, I followed the way in which I was guided, though unworthy, by the Holy Ghost. There went with me Stephen Dorantes, the negro, some of the freed Indians and many people of that country. I was received everywhere I went with much hospitality and rejoicing and with triumphal arches. The inhabitants also gave me what food they had, which was little, because they said it had not rained for three years, and because the Indians of that territory think more of hiding than of growing crops, for fear of the Christians of the town of San Miguel, who up to that time were accustomed to make war upon and enslave them. On all this road, which would be about 25 or 30 leagues beyond Petatlan, I did not see anything worthy of being set down here, except that there came to me some Indians from the island visited by the Marquess of Valle, and who

informed me that it was really an island and not, as some think, part of the mainland. I saw that they passed to and from the mainland on rafts and that the distance between the island and the mainland might be half a sea league, rather more or less. Likewise there came to see me Indians from another larger and more distant island, by whom I was told that there were thirty other small islands, inhabited, but with poor food excepting two, which they said had maize. These Indians wore suspended from their necks many shells of the kind which contain pearls; I showed them a pearl which I carried for sample and they told me that there were some in the islands, but I did not see any.

I took my way over a desert for four days and there went with me some Indians from the islands mentioned as well as from the villages which I left behind, and at the end of the desert I found some other Indians, who were astonished to see me, as they had no news of Christians, having no traffic with the people on the other side of the desert. These Indians made me very welcome, giving me plenty of food, and they endeavored to touch my clothes, calling me *Sayota*, which means in their language "man from heaven." I made them understand, the best I could by my interpreters, the content of my instructions, namely, the knowledge of Our Lord in heaven and of H. M. on earth. And always, by all the means that I could, I sought to learn about a country with numerous towns and a people of a higher culture than those I was encountering, but I had no news except that they told me that in the country beyond, four or five days' journey thence, where the chains of mountains ended, there was an extensive and level open tract,² in which they told me there were many and very large towns inhabited by a people clothed with cotton. When I showed them some metals which I was carrying, in order to take account of the metals of the country, they took a piece of gold and told me that there were

2. "Abra."

vessels of it among the people of the region and that they wear certain articles of that metal suspended from their noses and ears, and that they had some little blades of it, with which they scrape and relieve themselves of sweat. But as this tract lies inland and my intention was to stay near the coast, I determined to leave it till my return, because then I would be able to see it better. And so I marched three days through a country inhabited by the same people, by whom I was received in the same manner as by those I had already passed. I came to a medium-sized town named Vacapa, where they made me a great welcome and gave me much food, of which they had plenty, as the whole land is irrigated. From this town to the sea is forty leagues. As I found myself so far away from the sea, and as it was two days before Passion Sunday, I determined to stay there until Easter, to inform myself concerning the islands of which I said above that I had news. So I sent Indian messengers to the sea, by three ways, whom I charged to bring back to me people from the coast and from some of the islands, that I might inform myself concerning them. In another direction I sent Stephen Dorantes, the negro, whom I instructed to take the route towards the north for fifty or sixty leagues to see if by that way he might obtain an account of any important thing such as we were seeking. I agreed with him that if he had any news of a populous, rich and important country he should not continue further but should return in person or send me Indians with a certain signal which we arranged, namely, that if it were something of medium importance, he should send me a white cross of a hand's breadth, if it were something of great importance, he should send me one of two hands' breadth, while if it were bigger and better than New Spain, he should send me a great cross. And so the said negro Stephen departed from me on Passion Sunday after dinner, whilst I stayed in the town, which I say is called Vacapa.

In four days' time there came messengers from Stephen with a very great cross, as high as a man, and they

told me on Stephen's behalf that I should immediately come and follow him, because he had met people who gave him an account of the greatest country in the world, and that he had Indians who had been there, of whom he sent me one. This man told me so many wonderful things about the country, that I forebore to believe them until I should have seen them or should have more certitude of the matter. He told me that it was thirty days' journey from where Stephen was staying to the first city of the country, which was named Cibola. As it appears to me to be worth while to put in this paper what this Indian, whom Stephen sent me, said concerning the country, I will do so. He asserted that in the first province there were seven very great cities, all under one lord, that the houses, constructed of stone and lime, were large, that the smallest were of one storey with a terrace above, that there were others of two and three storeys, whilst that of the lord had four, and all were joined under his rule. He said that the doorways of the principal houses were much ornamented with turquoises, of which there was a great abundance, and that the people of those cities went very well clothed. He told me many other particulars, not only of the seven cities but of other provinces beyond them, each one of which he said was much bigger than that of the seven cities. That I might understand the matter as he knew it, we had many questions and answers and I found him very intelligent.

I gave thanks to Our Lord, but deferred my departure after Stephen Dorantes, thinking that he would wait for me, as I had agreed with him, and also because I had promised the messengers whom I had sent to the sea that I would wait for them, for I proposed always to treat with good faith the people with whom I came in contact. The messengers returned on Easter Sunday, and with them people from the coast and from two islands, which I knew to be the islands above mentioned and which, as I already knew, are poor of food, though populated. These people

wore shells on their foreheads and said that they contain pearls. They told me that there were thirty-four islands near to one another, whose names I am setting down in another paper, where I give the names of the islands and towns. The people of the coast say that they, as well as the people of the islands, have little food, and that they traffic with one another by means of rafts. The coast trends almost directly towards the north. These Indians of the coast brought to me shields of oxhide, very well fashioned, big enough to cover them from head to foot, with some holes above the handle so that one could see from behind them; they are so hard, that I think that a bullet would not pass through them. The same day there came to me three of those Indians known as *Pintados*, with their faces, chests and arms all decorated;³ they live over towards the east and their territory borders on those near the seven cities. They told me that, having had news of me, they had come to see me and among other things they gave me much information concerning the seven cities and provinces, that the Indian sent by Stephen had told me of, and almost in the same manner as he. I therefore sent back the coast people, but two Indians of the islands said they would like to go with me seven or eight days.

So with them and the three *Pintados* already mentioned, I left Vacapa on the second day of the Easter festival, taking the same road that Stephen had followed. I had received from him more messengers, with another big cross as big as the first which he sent, urging me to hurry and stating that the country in question was the best and greatest of which he had ever heard. These messengers gave me, individually, the same story as the first, except that they told me much more and gave me a clearer account. So for that day, the second of Easter, and for two more days I followed the same stages of the route as Stephen had; at the end of which I met the people who had

3. "Labrados"--Bandelier would translate this word by "tattooed." Ternaux-Compans says "peints." The word here used leaves it indefinite like the Spanish.

given him news of the seven cities and of the country beyond. They told me that from there it was thirty days' journey to the city of Cibola, which is the first of the seven. I had an account not from one only, but from many, and they told me in great detail the size of the houses and the manner of them, just as the first ones had. They told me that, beyond these seven cities, there were other kingdoms named Marata, Acus and Totonteac. I desired very much to know for what they went so far from their homes and they told me that they went for turquoises, cowhides and other things, that there was a quantity of these things in that town. Likewise I asked what they exchanged for such articles and they told me the sweat of their brows and the service of their persons, that they went to the first city, which is called Cibola, where they served in digging the ground and performing other work, for which work they are given oxhides, of the kind produced in that country, and turquoises. The people of this town all wear good and beautiful turquoises hanging from their ears and noses and they say that these jewels are worked into the principal doors of Cibola. They told me that the fashion of clothing worn in Cibola is a cotton shirt reaching to the instep, with a button at the throat and a long cord hanging down, the sleeves of the shirts being the same width throughout their length; it seems to me this would resemble the Bohemian style. They say that those people go girt with belts of turquoises and that over these shirts some wear excellent cloaks and others very well dressed cowhides, which are considered the best clothing, and of which they say there is a great quantity in that country. The women likewise go clothed and covered to the feet in the same manner.

These Indians received me very well and took great care to learn the day of my departure from Vacapa, so that they might furnish me on the way with victuals and lodgings. They brought me sick persons that I might cure them and they tried to touch my clothes; I recited the Gospel over them. They gave me some cowhides so well tan-

ned and dressed that they seemed to have been prepared by some highly civilized people, and they all said that they came from Cibola.

The next day I continued my journey, taking with me the *Pintados*, who wished not to leave me. I arrived at another settlement where I was very well received by its people, who also endeavored to touch my clothing. They gave me information concerning the country whither I was bound as much in detail as those I had met before, and they told me that some persons had gone from there with Stephen Dorantes, four or five days previously. Here I found a great cross which Stephen had left for me, as a sign that the news of the good country continually increased, and he had left word for me to hurry and that he would wait for me at the end of the first desert. Here I set up two crosses and took possession, according to my instructions, because that country appeared to me better than that which I had already passed and hence it was fitting to perform the acts of possession.

In this manner I travelled five days, always finding people, who gave me a very hospitable reception, many turquoises and cowhides and the same account of the country. They all spoke to me right away of Cibola and that province as people who knew that I was going in search of it. They told me how Stephen was going forward, and I received from him messengers who were inhabitants of that town and who had been some distance with him. He spoke more and more enthusiastically of the greatness of the country and he urged me to hurry. Here I learned that two days' journey thence I would encounter a desert of four days' journey, in which there was no provision except what was supplied by making shelters for me and carrying food. I hurried forward, expecting to meet Stephen at the end of it, because he had sent me word that he would await me there.

Before arriving at the desert, I came to a green, well watered settlement, where there came to meet me a crowd of people, men and women, clothed in cotton and some

covered with cowhides, which in general they consider a better dress material than cotton. All the people of this town wear turquoises hanging from their noses and ears; these ornaments are called *cacona*. Among them came the chief of the town and his two brothers, very well dressed in cotton, *encaconados*, and each with a necklace of turquoises around his neck. They brought to me a quantity of game--venison, rabbits and quail--also maize and meal, all in great abundance. They offered me many turquoises, cowhides, very pretty cups and other things, of which I accepted none, for such was my custom since entering the country where we were not known. And here I had the same account as before of the seven cities and the kingdoms and provinces as I have related above. I was wearing a garment of dark woollen cloth, of the kind called *Saragossa*, which was given to me by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, governor of New Galicia. The chief of the village and other Indians touched it with their hands and told me that there was plenty of that fabric in Totonteac and that the natives of that place were clothed with it. At this I laughed and said it could not be so, that it must be garments of cotton which those people wore. Then they said to me: "Do you think that we do not know that what you wear and what we wear is different? Know that in Cibola the houses are full of that material which we are wearing, but in Totonteac there are some small animals from which they obtain that with which they make a fabric like yours." This astonished me, as I had not heard of any such thing previously, and I desired to inform myself more particularly about it. They told me that the animals are of the size of the Castilian greyhounds which Stephen had with him; they said there were many of them in Totonteac. I could not guess what species of animals they might be.

The next day I entered into the desert and at the place where I had to go for dinner, I found huts and food enough, by the side of a watercourse. At night I found cabins and

food again and so it was for the four days that I travelled through this desert. At the end of them, I entered a very well populated valley and at the first town many men and women came with food to meet me. They all wore many turquoises suspended from their noses and ears, and some wore necklaces of turquoises, like those which I said were worn by the chief of the town on the other side of the desert and his brothers, except that they only wore one string, while these Indians wore three or four. They were dressed in very good cloaks of ox leather. The women likewise wore turquoises in their noses and ears and very good petticoats and blouses. Here they had as much information of Cibola, as in New Spain they have of Mexico and in Peru of Cuzco. They described in detail the houses, streets and squares of the town, like people who had been there many times, and they were wearing various objects brought from there, which they had obtained by their services, like the Indians I had previously met. I said to them that it was not possible that the houses should be in the manner which they described to me, so to make me understand they took earth and ashes and mixed them with water, and showed how the stone is placed and the edifice reared, placing stone and mortar till the required height is reached. I asked them if the men of that country had wings to climb those storeys; they laughed and explained to me a ladder, as well as I could do, and they took a stick and placed it over their heads and said it was that height from storey to storey. Here I was also given an account of the woolen cloth of Totonteac, where they say the houses are like those at Cibola but better and bigger, and that it is a very great place and has no limit.

Here I learned that the coast turns to the west, almost at a right angle, because until I reached the entrance of the first desert which I passed, the coast always trended towards the north. As it was very important to know the direction of the coast, I wished to assure myself and so

4. Ternaux-Compans says, "vers le nord," but the Spanish is "al Poniente."

went to look out⁵ and I saw clearly that in latitude 35 degrees it turns to the west. I was not less pleased at this discovery than at the good news I had of the country.

So I turned to follow my route and was in that valley five days. It is so thickly populated with fine people and so provided with food that there would be enough to supply more than three hundred horse. It is all watered and is like a garden. There are villages at every half or quarter league or so. In each of them I had a very long account of Cibola and they spoke to me in detail about it, as people would who went there each year to earn their living. Here I found a man who was a native of Cibola. He told me he had fled from the governor whom the lord had placed there in Cibola—for the lord of these seven cities lives and has his residence in one of them, which is called Ahacus, and in the others he has placed persons who command for him. This citizen of Cibola is a man of good disposition, somewhat old and much more intelligent than the natives of the valley and those I had formerly met; he told me that he wished to go with me so that I might procure his pardon. I interrogated him carefully and he told me that Cibola is a big city, that it has a large population and many streets and squares, and that in some parts of the city there are very great houses, ten storeys high, in which the chiefs meet on certain days of the year. He corroborated what I had already been told, that the houses are constructed out of stone and lime, and he said that the doors and fronts of the principal houses are of turquoise; he added that the others of the seven cities are similar, though some are bigger, and that the most important is Ahacus. He told me that towards the south-east there lay

5. "Y así fui en demanda della." "Demanda" is a nautical term for "look-out" and this translation seems to be indicated, as Fray Marcos goes on to say that he saw clearly that the coast turned to the West. Being familiar with navigation (see the attestation of Fray Antonio) it would be natural for him to use a sailor's expression and the mention of the latitude points to an actual observation. Nevertheless, this remains a very puzzling statement, as Fray Marcos was evidently too far from the coast to see it. Perhaps the meaning is, "after inquiry, I perceived etc."

a kingdom called Marata, in which there used to be many very large towns, having the same kind of houses built of stone and with several storeys; that this kingdom had been and still was at war with the lord of the seven cities; that by this war Marata had been greatly reduced in power, although it was still independent and continued the war.

He likewise told me that to the south-east⁶ there is a kingdom named Totonteac, which he said was the biggest, most populous, and the richest in the world, and that there they wore clothes made of the same stuff as mine, and others of a more delicate material obtained from the animals of which I had already had a description; the people were highly cultured and different from those I had hitherto seen. He further informed me that there is another province and very great kingdom, which is called Acus—for there are Ahacus and Acus; Ahacus, with the aspiration, is one of the seven cities, the most important one, and Acus, without the aspiration, is a kingdom and province by itself.

He corroborated what I had been told concerning the clothes worn in Cibola and added that all the people of that city sleep in beds raised above the floor, with fabrics⁷ and with tilts above to cover the beds. He said that he would go with me to Cibola and beyond, if I desired to take him along. I was given the same account in this town by many other persons, though not in such great detail.

I travelled in this valley three days and the natives made for me all the feasts and rejoicings that they could. Here in this valley I saw more than two thousand oxhides, extremely well cured; I saw a very large quantity of turquoises and necklaces thereof, as in the places I had left behind, and all said that they came from the city of Cibola. They know this place as well as I would know what I hold in my hands, and they are similarly acquainted with the kingdoms of Marata, Acus and Totonteac. Here in this

6. Ternaux-Compans and Hakluyt both say to the west, which seems more reasonable, as Marata lay to the south-east.

7. "Ropas," perhaps blankets.

valley they brought to me a skin, half as big again as that of a large cow, and told me that it was from an animal which has only one horn on its forehead and that this horn is curved towards its chest and then there sticks out a straight point, in which they said there was so much strength, that no object, no matter how hard, could fail to break when struck with it. They averred that there were many of these animals in that country. The color of the skin is like that of the goat and the hair is as long as one's finger.

Here I had messengers from Stephen, who told me on his behalf that he was then entering the last desert, and the more cheerfully, as he was going more assured of the country; and he sent to me to say that, since departing from me, he had never found the Indians out in any lie, but up to that point had found everything as they had told him and so he thought to find that beyond. And so I held it for certain, because it is true that, from the first day I had news of the city of Cibola, the Indians had told me of everything that till then I had seen, telling me always what towns I would find along the road and the numbers of them and, in the parts where there was no population, showing me where I would eat and sleep, without erring in one point. I had then marched, from the first place where I had news of the country, one hundred and twelve leagues, so it appears to me not unworthy to note the great truthfulness of these people. Here in this valley, as in the other towns before, I erected crosses and performed the appropriate acts and ceremonies, according to my instructions. The natives of this town asked me to stay with them three or four days, because there was a desert four leagues thence, and from the beginning of it to the city of Cibola would be a march of fifteen days and they wished to put up food for me and to make the necessary arrangements for it. They told me that with the negro Stephen there had gone more than three hundred men to accompany him and carry food, and that many wished to go with me also, to serve me and be-

cause they expected to return rich. I acknowledged their kindness and asked that they should get ready speedily, because each day seemed to me a year, so much I desired to see Cibola. And so I remained three days without going forward, during which I continually informed myself concerning Cibola and all the other places. In doing so I took the Indians aside and questioned each one by himself, and all agreed in their account and told me the number of the people, the order of the streets, the size of the houses and the fashion of the doorways, just as I had been told by those before.

After the three days were past, many people assembled to go with me, of whom I chose thirty chiefs, who were very well supplied with necklaces of turquoises, some of them wearing as many as five or six strings. With these I took the retinue necessary to carry food for them and me and started on my way. I entered the desert on the ninth day of May. On the first day, by a very wide and well travelled road, we arrived for dinner at a place where there was water, which the Indians showed to me, and in the evening we came again to water, and there I found a shelter which the Indians had just constructed for me and another which had been made for Stephen to sleep in when he passed. There were some old huts and many signs of fire, made by people passing to Cibola over this road. In this fashion I journeyed twelve days, always very well supplied with victuals of venison, hares, and partridges of the same color and flavor as those of Spain, although rather smaller.

At this juncture I met an Indian, the son of one of the chiefs who were journeying with me, who had gone in company with the negro Stephen. This man showed fatigue in his countenance, had his body covered with sweat, and manifested the deepest sadness in his whole person. He told me that, at a day's march before coming to Cibola, Stephen according to his custom sent ahead messengers with his calabash, that they might know he was coming.

The calabash was adorned with some rows of rattles^{7*} and two feathers, one white and one red. When they arrived at Cibola, before the person of the lord's representative in that place, and gave him the calabash, as soon as he took it in his hands and saw the rattles, with great anger he flung it on the ground and told the messengers to be gone forthwith, that he knew what sort of people these were, and that the messengers should tell them not to enter the city, as if they did so he would put them to death. The messengers went back, told Stephen what had passed. He said to them that that was nothing, that those who showed themselves irritated received him the better. So he continued his journey till he arrived at the city of Cibola, where he found people who would not consent to let him enter, who put him in a big house which was outside the city, and who at once took away from him all that he carried, his articles of barter and the turquoises and other things which he had received on the road from the Indians. They left him that night without giving anything to eat or drink either to him or to those that were with him. The following morning my informant was thirsty and went out of the house to drink from a nearby stream. When he had been there a few moments he saw Stephen fleeing away pursued by the people of the city and they killed some of those who were with him. When this Indian saw this he concealed himself and made his way up the stream, then crossed over and regained the road of the desert.

At these tidings, some of the Indians who were with me commenced to weep. As for myself, the wretched news made me fear I should be lost. I feared not so much to lose my life as not to be able to return to give a report of the greatness of the country, where God Our Lord might be so well served and his holy faith exalted and the royal domains of H. M. extended. In these circumstances I consoled them as best I could and told them that one ought

7*. "Cascabeles."

not to give entire credence to that Indian, but they said to me with many tears that the Indian only related what he had seen. So I drew apart from the Indians to commend myself to Our Lord and to pray Him to guide this matter as He might best be served and to enlighten my mind. This done, I returned to the Indians and with a knife cut the cords of the packages of dry goods and articles of barter which I was carrying with me and which till then I had not touched nor given away any of the contents. I divided up the goods among all those chiefs and told them not to fear and to go along with me, which they did.

Continuing our journey, at a day's march from Cibola, we met two other Indians, of those who had gone with Stephen, who appeared bloody and with many wounds. At this meeting, they and those that were with me set up such a crying, that out of pity and fear they also made me cry. So great was the noise that I could not ask about Stephen nor of what had happened to them, so I begged them to be quiet that we might learn what had passed. They said to me: "How can we be quiet, when we know that our fathers, sons and brothers who were with Stephen, to the number of more than three hundred men, are dead? And we no more dare go to Cibola, as we have been accustomed." Nevertheless, as well as I could, I endeavored to pacify them and to put off their fear, although I myself was not without need of someone to calm me. I asked the wounded Indians concerning Stephen and as to what had happened. They remained a short time without speaking a word, weeping along with those of their towns. At last they told me that when Stephen arrived at a day's journey from Cibola, he sent his messengers with his calabash to the lord of Cibola to announce his arrival and that he was coming peacefully and to cure them. When the messengers gave him the calabash and he saw the rattles, he flung it furiously on the floor and said: "I know these people; these rattles are not of our style of workmanship; tell them to go back immediately or not a man of them will re-

main alive." Thus he remained very angry. The messengers went back sad, and hardly dared to tell Stephen of the reception they had met. Nevertheless they told him and he said that they should not fear, that he desired to go on, because, although they answered him badly, they would receive him well. So he went and arrived at the city of Cibola just before sunset, with all his company, which would be more than three hundred men, besides many women. The inhabitants would not permit them to enter the city, but put them in a large and commodious house outside the city. They at once took away from Stephen all that he carried, telling him that the lord so ordered. "All that night," said the Indians, "they gave us nothing to eat nor drink. The next day, when the sun was a lance-length high, Stephen went out of the house and some of the chiefs with him. Straightway many people came out of the city and, as soon as he saw them, he began to flee and we with him. Then they gave us these arrow-strokes and cuts and we fell and some dead men fell on top of us. Thus we lay till nightfall, without daring to stir. We heard loud voices in the city and we saw many men and women watching on the terraces. We saw no more of Stephen and we concluded that they had shot him with arrows as they had the rest that were with him, of whom there escaped only us."

In view of what the Indians had related and the bad outlook for continuing my journey as I desired, I could not help but feel their loss and mine. God is witness of how much I desired to have someone of whom I could take counsel, for I confess I was at a loss what to do. I told them that Our Lord would chastize Cibola and that when the Emperor knew what had happened he would send many Christians to punish its people. They did not believe me, because they say that no one can withstand the power of Cibola. I begged them to be comforted and not to weep and consoled them with the best words I could muster, which would be too long to set down here. With this I left them and withdrew a stone's throw or two apart, to

commend myself to God, and remained thus an hour and a half. When I went back to them, I found one of my Indians, named Mark, who had come from Mexico, and he said to me: "Father, these men have plotted to kill you, because they say that on account of you and Stephen their kinsfolk have been murdered, and that there will not remain a man or woman among them all who will not be killed." I then divided among them all that remained of dry stuffs and other articles, in order to pacify them. I told them to observe that if they killed me they would do me no harm, because I would die a Christian and would go to heaven, and that those who killed me would suffer for it, because the Christians would come in search of me, and against my will would kill them all. With these and many other words I pacified them somewhat, although there was still high feeling on account of the people killed. I asked that some of them should go to Cibola, to see if any other Indian had escaped and to obtain some news of Stephen, but I could not persuade them to do so. Seeing this, I told them that, in any case, I must see the city of Cibola and they said that no one would go with me. Finally, seeing me determined, two chiefs said that they would go with me.

With these and with my own Indians and interpreters, I continued my journey till I came within sight of Cibola. It is situated on a level stretch on the brow of a roundish hill. It appears to be a very beautiful city, the best that I have seen in these parts; the houses are of the type that the Indians described to me, all of stone with their storeys and terraces, as it appeared to me from a hill whence I could see it. The town is bigger than the city of Mexico.*

8. Here Ramusio, III. 359B, interpolates: *La città è maggior che la città di Temistitan, laqual passa venti mila case, le genti sono quasi bianche, vanno vestiti, & dormono in letti, tengono archi per arme, hanno molti smeraldi, & altre gioie, anchor che non apprezzino se non turchese, con lequali adornano li pareti delli portali delle case, & le vesti, & li vasi, & si spende come moneta in tutto quel paese. Vestono di cotone, & di cuoi di vacca: & questo è il piu apprezzato, & honoreuole vestire: vsano vasi d'oro, & d'argento, perche non hanno altro metallo, delquale vi è maggior vs. & maggior abbondanza che nel Peru, & questo comprano per*

At times I was tempted to go to it, because I knew that I risked nothing but my life, which I had offered to God the day I commenced the journey; finally I feared to do so, considering my danger and that if I died, I would not be able to give an account of this country, which seems to me to be the greatest and best of the discoveries. When I said to the chiefs who were with me how beautiful Cibola appeared to me, they told me that it was the least of the seven cities, and that Totontecac is much bigger and better than all the seven, and that it has so many houses and people that there is no end to it. Viewing the situation of the city, it occurred to me to call that country the new kingdom of St. Francis, and there, with the aid of the Indians, I made a big heap of stones and on top of it I placed a small, slender cross, not having the materials to construct a bigger one. I declared that I placed that cross and landmark in the name of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain for the Emperor, our lord, in sign of possession, in conformity with my instructions. I declared that I took possession there of all the seven cities and of the kingdoms of Tontontecac and Acus and Marata, and that I did not go to them, in order that I might return to give an account of what I had done and seen.

Then I started back, with much more fear than food, and went to meet the people whom I had left behind, with the greatest haste I could make. I overtook them after

turquese nella provincia delli Pintadi, doue si dice che vi sono le minere in grande abbondanza. D'altri regni non potetti hauere instruttione cosi particolare, alcune volte fui tentato andarmene fino li . . .

Hakluyt translates this passage as follows: The people are somewhat white, they wear apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they have Emeralds and other iewels, although they esteeme none so much as turqueses wherewith they adorne the walles of the porches of their houses, and their apparell and vessels, and they use them instead of money through all the Country. Their apparell is of cotton and Oxe hides, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparell. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other mettall, whereof there is greater use and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the same for turqueses in the province of the Pintados, where there are sayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other Kingdoms I could not obtain so particular instruction. Divers times I was tempted to goe thither . . .

two days' march and went with them till we had passed the desert and arrived at their home. Here I was not made welcome as previously, because the men as well as the women indulged in much weeping for the persons killed at Cibola. Without tarrying I hastened in fear from that people and that valley. The first day I went ten leagues, then I went eight and again ten leagues, without stopping till I had passed the second desert.

On my return, although I was not without fear, I determined to approach the open tract,⁹ situated at the end of the mountain ranges, of which I said above (page 5) that I had some account. As I came near, I was informed that it is peopled for many days' journey towards the east, but I dared not enter it, because it seemed to me that we must go to colonize and to rule that other country of the seven cities and the kingdoms I have spoken of, and that then one could see it better. So I forebore to risk my person and left it alone to given an account of what I had seen. However, I saw, from the mouth of the tract seven moderate-sized towns at some distance, and further a very fresh valley of very good land,¹⁰ whence rose much smoke.¹¹ I was informed that there is much gold in it and that the natives of it deal in vessels and jewels for the ears and little plates with which they scrape themselves to relieve themselves of sweat, and that these people will not consent to trade with those of the other part of the valley; but I was not able to learn the cause for this. Here I placed two crosses and took possession of all this plain and valley in the same manner as I had done with the other possessions, according to my instructions. From there I continued my return journey, with all the haste I could, till I arrived at the town of San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan, expecting to find there Francisco Vazquez de Coro-

9. "Abra."

10. Here Ternaux-Compans inserts: "et une tres jolie ville," which brings down upon him a severe criticism from Bandelier.

11. Hakluyt says: "out of which ran many rivers." This is his own mistranslation, as Ramusio writes "fumos."

nado, governor of New Galicia. As I did not find him there, I continued my journey to the city of Compostella, where I found him. From there I immediately wrote word of my coming to the most illustrious lord, the viceroy of New Spain, and to our father provincial, Friar Antonio of Ciudad-Rodrigo, asking him to send me orders what to do.

I omit here many particulars which are not pertinent; I simply tell what I saw and what was told me concerning the countries where I went and those of which I was given information, in order to make a report to our father provincial, that he may show it to the father of our order, who may advise him, or to the council of the order, at whose command I went, that they may give it to the most illustrious lord, the viceroy of New Spain, at whose request they sent me on this journey.—*Fray Marcos de Niza, vice comisarius.*

ATTESTATIONS

I, Friar Antonio of Ciudad-Rodrigo, religious of the order of the Minorites and minister provincial for the time being of the province of the Holy Evangel of this New Spain, declare that it is true that I sent Fray Marcos de Niza, priest, friar, presbyter and religious, and in all virtue and religion so esteemed that, by me and my brethren of the governing board who take counsel together in all arduous and difficult matters, he was approved and held as fit and able to make this journey and discovery, as well for the aforesaid character of his person, as for being learned, not only in theology, but also in cosmography and navigation. When it had been considered and decided that he should go, he departed with a companion, a lay-brother named Friar Honoratus, by the command of the lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of this said New Spain. His lordship gave him all the furnishings and equipment necessary for the said journey and exploration. His instructions which are here written, which I saw and which his lordship communicated to me, asking my advice thereon,

were given, as they appeared to me good, to the said Fray Marcos, by the hand of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado. He duly received them and executed them faithfully, as in fact has appeared. And as the above is the truth and there is no mis-statement in it, I have written this faithful testimony and signed it with my name. --Executed in Mexico, on the twenty-sixth¹² day of August, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine.—*Fra. Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo, minister provincial.*

In the great city of Temixtitlan, Mexico of New Spain, on the second day of the month of September, in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, before the very illustrious lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor for H. M. in this New Spain, president of the *audiencia* and royal chancery, residing in the said city, and being present the very magnificent lords, the learned judge Francisco de Ceños, *oidor* for H. M. in the said royal *audiencia*, and Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, governor for H. M. in the province of New Galicia, and in the presence of us, Juan Baeza de Herrera, chief secretary of the said royal *audiencia* and of the government of the said New Spain, and Antonio de Turcios, secretary to Their Majesties and of the said royal *audiencia*, appeared the very reverend father Fray Marcos de Niza, vice-commissary in these parts of the Indies of the Ocean,¹³ of the order of San Francisco, and presented before their lordships and before us the said secretaries and witnesses the appended writings, these instructions and this relation signed with his name and sealed with the general seal of the Indies, the which have nine leaves, including this in which go our signatures; and he said, affirmed and certified to be true the content of the said instructions and relation and that what is contained therein occurred, in order that H. M. may be informed of

12. Ternaux-Compans gives the 27th.

13. "Las Indias del mar Océano."

the truth of that which is made mention of therein. And their lordships ordered us the said secretaries, that, as the said vice-commissary presented it and declared it to be such, we attest the same at the foot thereof and that we declare it for truth, signed with our signatures.—Witnesses present: the above-named, and Alamaguer¹⁴ and Friar Martin of Ozocastro, religious of the same order.

In faith whereof, I the said Juan Baeza, the above-named secretary, affix here this my seal, thus in testimony of truth.



—*Juan Baeza de Herrera.*

And I the said Antonio de Turcios, the above-named secretary, who was present at what is here said, affix here this my seal, in testimony of truth.



—*Antonio de Turcios.*

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14. Ternaux-Compans gives "Antonio of Almaguez."

REVIEWS AND EXCHANGES

The Frontier Times for January publishes a biographical sketch of Kit Carson, which in view of the centennary of Carson's first trip to Santa Fe, is of special interest. Among other contributions in the current issue is one by George S. Roper of Two Harbors, Minnesota, who tells of "Soldiering on the Frontier" fifty five years ago. Roper was a trooper in the Eighth Cavalry commanded by General J. Orvin Gregg. He says among other things:

"We got to Kit Carson, Colorado, and the first thing we saw the next morning were two fellows strung up under a railroad bridge where they had been hung the night before by a vigilance committee At Kit Carson we were given guns, and we picked up a bunch of 'doughboys' headed for the 15th Infantry There we started on our long march of nearly 1,200 miles to New Mexico. Any one now passing over the A. T. & S. F. from Los Animas, Colorado, to San Marcial, New Mexico, probably would not appreciate what a God-forsaken country that hike took us through back in the fall of 1870 Trinidad was just one street, with a few scattering adobe shanties down near the river. We crossed the Raton Mountains at Dick Wooten's ranch, and found the Red River of the South, west of the foot of the mountains, only about 10 feet wide. One place where we camped for a night there was a rancher living. It was said that at this house they had soda biscuits three times a day, 365 days in the year. I had a good many meals there and I never found any other kind of bread; so it must be so. At this place we saw our first Indians. They were Utes, and one of them had on a Major General's dress uniform, coat, epaulets, and all, which had been given him by General Sherman. The old chief also had a letter from the General which he prized very highly. The letter advised the reader to watch the old fellow very close, that he would carry away anything he could get his hands on. Cimarron was about the only place we found that would lead one to believe that there had ever been anything but a Mexican in that country. Fort Union was the headquarters of the 8th Cavalry. I was fortunate enough to be assigned to troop

B, with Captain Wm. McCleave in command. He is long since dead, but I want to go on record as believing that there were very few officers that were his equal. At Fort Union we lost the men who were assigned to troops at that station, and also those at Fort Garland. After a few days' rest we again took up the weary march, and two days after we camped at Las Vegas, an old Mexican town. What is now East Las Vegas was not at that time even a hole in the ground. At Albuquerque we first saw the Rio Grande, and lost our comrades that were enroute for Fort Wingate. At Fort Craig the fellows for Fort Selden and Fort Bayard kept on down the river; and we that were going to Fort Stanton crossed the river and hiked east through the sandy desert. The first of November we reached our long looked for 'happy home.' We were not long in taking up the duties of soldiers, with foot and mounted drill nearly every day. We had a splendid drillmaster in Sergeant Patrick Golden, an old soldier of several years' service. A short time before we reached the post the Apaches killed one of our troop, and also a member of Co. I of the 15th Infantry within a few miles of the post. A scout was at once started after the murderers who were followed so closely that in order to let the bucks get away the squaws got in the way of the charge going up a narrow canyon, knowing, as they did, that in order to get around them it would delay the charge. Several prisoners were taken and we found them still in confinement at the post with a guard over them. That post was not very desirable. We enlisted at \$16 a month, but Congress got funny and reduced our pay to \$13. Of course, that did not set very good, and the result was the army lost many men by refusal to re-enlist and by desertion. One of the latter was my bunkey. It would be hard for one who has not passed through the experience to realize the irksome sameness, or want of variety of a soldier's life in New Mexico, and especially at Fort Stanton in the early 70's. The nearest point of anything that might be called civilization being Las Vegas, more than 150 miles away. Not a book or anything to read. Mail once a week and taking from four to five weeks for a letter from as far East as Ohio. Where one was fortunate enough to have a friend who sent them the home paper it was read by every man in the troop until entirely worn out. There was nothing to attract one's attention except the same old round of soldier duty, an unending sequence of guard, stable police,

kitchen police, and fatigue; and then back over the same thing. We cavalrymen had a little the best of the infantrymen. We got all the escort duty, scouting and other things of that kind. For a few days we had a chance to lose sight of the old stone buildings of the post. We looked forward with delight to the afternoon that we were the old guard, as we then had the splendid duty of herding the horses for grazing. It certainly was fun to get the horses all excited in the corral (when there were no commissioned officers around), and then turn them loose and run them until they got their play out. We all felt as though we had lost our best friend when mounted drill was taken off. All of the officers of the regiment above Second Lieutenant had seen service during the Civil War. Several of them had reached the rank of Brigadier General. With us as we were making our tramp was four Second Lieutenants that had graduated with the class of 1870. I think only one of them is now living, Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Fountain, retired. Lieut. R. A. Williams only lived long enough to get his Captain's commission. I have understood that Lieut. F. E. Phelps lost a leg at Wounded Knee, and was retired; Lieut. Godwin became a Brigadier General, retired. S. B. M. Young was one of our original captains, appointed in 1866. He was, I think the last one to die. Capt. J. F. Randlett was transferred to the regiment in 1870 and was a captain for 16 years. This letter starts by saying '55 years ago I put on the blue.' Now I close it by saying that 50 years ago Major J. H. Mahnked, Regimental Adjutant, handed me my discharge at Santa Fe, New Mexico, for expiration of term of service, signed by General Gregg, and the Major was kind enough to write the word 'excellent' under the black line."

The Frontier Times also publishes in this issue a list of Confederates who were stationed at different points in New Mexico during the Civil War. The list included a number of documents pertaining to these troops furnished by Henry J. Brown of Santa Rita. A copy of the pay-roll is also attached.

SANTA FE'S FIRST AMERICAN PORTRAIT PAINTER

The latest annual report of the Smithsonian Institution prints a portrait and biographical sketch of John Mix Stanley, by David I. Bushnell, Jr., whose portraits painted from life among forty-three different tribes of Indians

during ten years that he spent in New Mexico and other western states, were entrusted to the Smithsonian Institution. Unfortunately, all of these except five were destroyed in the fire of January 24, 1865, which damaged the main building. The following are excerpts from the biography:

"In 1842, accompanied by Sumner Dickerman, of Troy, he visited the Indian country in Arkansas and New Mexico and made sketches and pictures of the Indians and Indian scenes The opportunities afforded by his constant contact with the Indians were improved by almost daily paintings and sketching. In attempting to paint the portrait of the Cherokee chiefs Mr. Stanley found a difficulty in their caprice and superstition. They insisted that portraits should first be painted of Jim Shaw, a Delaware, and of Jess Chisholm, a Cherokee, under whose protection Mr. Stanley had been conducted; if these men should consent to sit and should receive no harm from the operation, then the Cherokee chiefs would sit. It was done in this way. They came forward in the order of their rank and were delighted with the idea of being painted, considering it a great honor. Mr. Stanley spent part of the year 1845 in New Mexico. By the year 1846 he had painted 83 canvases, and in January of that year he and Mr. Dickerman exhibited them in Cincinnati and Louisville In October, 1846, he visited Santa Fe to paint still more pictures. Here he joined the expedition of Gen S. W. Kearny, who led the dangerous march overland to San Diego, Calif. He was placed under the immediate command of Captain Emory, of the Topographical Corps, United States Army. At the mouth of the Gila River they had a battle with some California irregulars. This was during the time when General Flores, the counter revolutionist, held Los Angeles and Commodore Stockton, in opposition, held San Diego. In this march Mr. Stanley was also in the actions at San Pasquale, Calif. In 1853 Mr. Stanley was appointed to be the artist of the expedition sent by the Government of the United States to explore a 'Route for the Pacific Railroad near the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels of latitude from St. Paul to Puget Sound. The Indians were impressed by Mr. Stanley's ability to make pictures of them with his brush. Also the daguerreotype process which he sometimes used was to them a thing inspired because produced by the light of the sun As a member

of the expedition he made a large number of sketches of the various points of interest, and as a novel experiment he carried a daguerreotype apparatus, probably the first taken up the Missouri. In the report of the expedition is this note: 'August 7, 1853. Mr. Stanley, the artist, was busily occupied during our stay at Fort Union with his daguerreotype apparatus, and the Indians were greatly pleased with their daguerreotypes.,'

Of the five paintings still on exhibition in the Smithsonian, three bear evidence of having been painted in New Mexico. One is that of a Towoccono Warrior.

"This man distinguished himself among his people by a daring attempt at stealing horses, in the night, from Fort Milan, on the western frontier of Texas. He succeeded in passing the sentries, and had secured some eight or ten horses to a lariat, and was making his way to the gates of the fort, when he was discovered and fired upon. The night being dark, the shots were at random; he was, however, severely wounded by two balls, received two sabre wounds upon his arms, and narrowly escaped with his life. He is about twenty-three years of age, and by this daring feat has won the name and standing of a warrior among his people."

The second painting is entitled "A Buffalo Hunt on the Southwestern Prairies," while the third is a portrait of Black Knife, an Apache chief who accompanied Kearny on his march from Santa Fe to California.



MRS. WASHINGTON E. LINDSEY

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NEW MEXICO IN THE GREAT WAR

(Continued)

V The Women's Part

The Woman's Auxiliary of the State Council of Defense came into being during the special session of the legislature called by Governor Lindsey, May 1, 1917, when women delegates from each of the twenty-eight counties appointed by the War Committee for the purpose of forming a Woman's Auxiliary to the State Council of Defense, met at the State Capitol on May 5, 1917, and elected the following officers:

Mrs. W. E. Lindsey, *chairman*; Mrs. A. A. Kellam, *1st vice chairman*; Mrs. H. J. Hammond, *2nd vice chairman*; Mrs. F. L. Myers, *secretary*; Mrs. Walter M. Danburg *assistant secretary*; Mrs. R. M. Fergusson, *treasurer*; Mrs. R. Harwell, *auditor*;

Chairmen at large: Mrs. A. A. Kellam, Albuquerque; Mrs. R. Harwell, Estancia; Mrs. Walter M. Danburg, Santa Fe; Mrs. F. L. Myers, East Las Vegas.

Judicial Districts: 1st. Mrs. Otero-Warren, Santa Fe; 2nd. Mrs. Alfred Grunsfeld, Albuquerque; 3rd Mrs. Henry Stoes, Las Cruces; 4th. Mrs. W. E. Gortner, Las Vegas; 5th. Mrs. J. T. Stalker, Clovis; 6th. Mrs. R. M. Fergusson, Tyrone; 7th. Mrs. M. C. Mechem, Socorro; 8th. Mrs. H. J. Hammond, Clayton.

Publicity Chairman: Mrs. Wm. P. Henderson, Santa Fe. Subsequently county and precinct chairmen were appointed throughout the State.

New Mexico was thus one of the first states — if not the first — to mobilize its women for war service through an effective, state-wide organization.

As will be seen, the Woman's Auxiliary was formed before the complete organization of the Women's committee of the Council of National Defense, which was created as a sub-committee of the Council of National Defense at Washington, with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as its chairman. But with the appointment of Mrs. W. E. Lindsey, wife of the governor, as state chairman of the Women's Committee of the Committee of National Defense, the Woman's Auxiliary became automatically the state division of the national body, just as the state Councils of Defense were state divisions of the National Council of Defense.

As there was always a certain amount of confusion, however, resulting from the fact that the New Mexico division had a different name and a slightly different form of state organization, the Woman's Auxiliary was reorganized in March, 1918, to conform more closely to the other state divisions of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense, with state department heads as follows: *Honorary Chairman*: Mrs. W. E. Lindsey, Santa Fe; *State Chairman*: Mrs. Geo. W. Prichard; *Department of Registration*, Mrs. Kate Hall, Santa Fe; *Victory Gardens*, Mrs. Isaac Barth, Albuquerque; *Food Conservation*, Mrs. Walter M. Danburg; *Child Welfare*, Mrs. Max Nordhaus, Albuquerque; *Health Recreation and Social Service*, Dr. Janet Reid, Deming; *Liberty Loan and Thrift Stamps*, Mrs. Howard Huey, Santa Fe; *Publicity*, Mrs. R. E. Twitchell, Santa Fe; *Women in Industry*, Mrs. H. L. Hall, Chama; *Woman's Land Army*, Mrs. R. L. Fergusson, Tyrone; *Patriotic Education and Americanization*, Mrs. Alfred Grunsfeld, Albuquerque; *Home Economics*, Mrs. Ruth C. Miller, Santa Fe; *Publicity Markets*, Mrs. B. C. Hernandez, Canjilón; *Home and Foreign Relief*, Mrs. A. B. Renehan.

In order to avoid confusion in this account, the term

"Woman's Committee" will be used to apply equally to the organization existing previous to March, 1918, as well as that existing afterward. The two were in fact identical in scope and purpose.

Before passing from the subject of organization, it may be well to say a word in regard to the purpose of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. This Committee was created as a sub-committee of the Council of National Defense "to co-ordinate the activities and the resources of the organized and unorganized women of the country in order that their power might be immediately utilized in time of need, and to supply a new and direct channel of communication and co-operation between women and governmental departments." It was meant as a vast clearing-house of women's activities, to serve as a telephone or railway system in a country that had before been without one; to serve as an artery, not only of trade and commerce, but of ideas and inspiration. And it abundantly justified its promise.

It implies no discredit, however, to the women of New Mexico to say that in the beginning they were a little mystified by the problem of organization. In a country so new, so sparsely settled, and with geographical and racial conditions making each county as distinct from the next as many states are, it is not surprising that the women knew more about *work* than they did about *organization*. It took them only a short time, however, to learn that the one is as important as the other, and it is a tribute and a credit to the state that the unusual conditions confronting the women of New Mexico were so far overcome that they not only produced tangible material results in the way of Red Cross and Navy League work, contributions to all war funds, and an increased production of food, but that when it came to a thing like securing signatures to the Hoover Pledge cards, they turned in results that averaged higher than those of many more thickly populated, railway-articulated states!

For instance, the official tabulation of pledge card returns at Washington credited New Mexico with 34% of families signed up, whereas Massachusetts and New York each had only 27% and Ohio 24%.

It is doubtful if one who does not know the actual conditions can appreciate what it meant to roll up the returns on those Hoover pledges in New Mexico! Little things like getting stuck in the middle of an arroyo during a cloud-burst and having to wait until the water subsided—if luckily one were not drowned by it — can hardly be appreciated by canvassers outside the state. Just what a house canvass in New Mexico means can only be understood by one who has “jitneyed” by narrow gauge railway, stage-coach, bronco, or burro over some of the rugged or sandy landscape of New Mexico — where distances between houses are measured not by blocks but by arroyos, mountains, or mesas. Nor is there another state in the union in which one half of the population can not understand the other half without an interpreter. And yet these things only added to the zest with which the women of New Mexico tackled their problems. One thing, of course, which simplified the problem was the fact that although the state is bi-lingual, there was never the least question of disloyalty or of anything but complete willingness and a desire to be of service on the part of New Mexico women. Nothing could have been more inspiring than the deep earnestness of the English, Spanish, and Indian speaking women who met over the canning kettle, or across the Red Cross table where a common impulse moved them and a common purpose obviated any need of an interpreter — the will to win the war! In New Mexico certainly it has been amply demonstrated that racial variety is indeed no barrier to national unity, when democracy and not autocracy is the government practised.

The women in New Mexico did not wait to be mobilized, they did not wait for organization — they went to work. They knew what the women of England and France

had done; they knew what the women of Belgium and northern France and Servia and Poland and Armenia had suffered; they knew what was expected of them. That is why, in answer to requests for reports sent out during the early part of 1917, letters like the following would come in:

"Our women are not indifferent; *they are busy*. They are hard at work for the Red Cross and conserving and drying and canning food, and in a quiet way they are doing everything that they possibly can. They do not understand organization very well, but they will in a little while."

And this proved true. But the point to be emphasized is the fact that the women of New Mexico were doers rather than talkers; theirs was not an organization existing only on paper, but an organization of hands and hearts.

During the summer of 1917 dozens of letters like the following one came in:

"While only a few of the districts in the county have sent in a written report of the work they are accomplishing, we find, on investigation, that the women of the county are quietly and earnestly practising economy and conservation in their homes. All with whom we have talked say that they have doubled and trebled their usual supply of canned and dried fruit and vegetables."

In this brief summary it will not be possible to do more than indicate some of the things accomplished by the women of New Mexico. Statistics and figures are historically far less important than the mass result and the spirit underlying its achievements. It is enough to say that the women of New Mexico never failed to give what was required of them — *and more*, abundantly more.

Whatever the powers at war may have thought about it in the beginning, they soon realized that this war could not be won without the women. In England and France the influence of the women, in industries, military and civil, can not be measured. In this country the first recognition of the supreme need for co-operation on the part of the women was in the appeal of the Food Administration

to the women of the United States to win the war by saving and conserving food. Millions of hungry people overseas had to be fed, and only strict economy and conservation could accomplish the task. This was so largely in the hands of the women of the nation that each one felt it a personal responsibility to do her utmost.

In New Mexico the co-operation of the women was hearty and enthusiastic. Home gardens and open markets were urged by the Women's Committee in letters and articles sent to the press throughout the state, with gratifying results. At Santa Fe particularly the open market maintained during the two summers of 1917 and 1918 was a notable success. In connection with the conservation of food, the Hoover Food Administration pledge cards, asking each woman to pledge herself to follow the directions of the Food Administration and observe certain wheatless and meatless meals and days, were issued and distributed by the Woman's Committee; and a remarkably high percentage of returns was received, as noted above.

With these cards were also sent out the registration blanks of the Woman's Committee, following the model furnished by the National Board. These cards served somewhat the purpose of a selective draft and questionnaire combined. Each woman who signed pledged herself for a limited or complete amount of service and time, should the need arise, and specified also her particular capacity and training in any given line. Many women in the beginning did not understand the special function of classification to be served by these cards. Many, who were already devoting every moment of their spare time to war activities, thought that some further pledge was here demanded of them, instead of the mere statement of the time and service already contributed by them; for this reason the registration returns were not as high as those of the Hoover food pledge cards, but they were nevertheless remarkably high considering all the circumstances, and registration was still going on when the war stopped.

Both these registration blanks and the Hoover cards were printed in Spanish and English at the expense of the State Council of Defense and distributed to the county chairmen of the Woman's Committee, who, with their precinct chairmen and special committees, conducted the canvass.

The one engrossing subject during this period was the subject of FOOD: food production, food conservation, food preservation. To give the period a name, we may call it the period of "the search for the substitute." Innumerable meetings were held devoted to the subject of the discovery and adaptability of all substitutes for wheat flour or for meat, and other foods which the Food Administration wanted conserved.

Substitute menus were prepared and discussed, and wherever two or three women were gathered together, it was pretty sure that the subject under discussion was the relative advantages of suggested substitutes. In co-operation with the local branches of the Woman's Committee, the home demonstrators from the State College of Agriculture held meetings throughout the state, demonstrating the latest methods of canning or drying fruits and vegetables. Incidentally, in connection with these meetings it was discovered that New Mexico, owing to its climate and traditions, had advantages over other states in so far as the preservation of food was concerned, not only because of the favorable dryness of the atmosphere but also because almost all the natives and ranch women knew and practiced the art of drying fruit and vegetables. The following letter from a county chairman is an example of many similar reports:

"Our native women carefully dry apples, peaches, pears, plums, sweet corn, green and red chili, also meat. Most of our American housekeepers dry the fruits and corn, and can fruits, vegetables, pickles, etc.

The Indians also dry cantaloupes, cut in half, with seeds and outer skin removed.

All ranchers bury (or pit) potatoes, cabbage, beets,

turnips and carrots for winter use and store squash and pumpkins."

At the request of the Food Administration, descriptions and photographs of native and Indian methods of drying food were sent to the headquarters at Washington.

During the Patriotic Week at Albuquerque, food kitchens were maintained at which the latest menus and substitutes were demonstrated. The Food Show in the New Museum at Santa Fe, held under the auspices of Mrs. Walter Danburg, state chairman of the Food Department, and Mrs. Harry L. Wilson, chairman of the library division of the food administration, was illustrative of the intense interest on the part of the women in one another's recipes. Bread, cakes, and candies made from all kinds of substitutes for wheat or sugar were exhibited with the menus appended, and throngs of women came and tasted and spent hours copying one another's recipes for use in their own homes. Later on these recipes were printed in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* and circulated through the state by the Food Administration.

The Food Show was followed by a Potato Show, stimulating the use of potato dishes in order to dispose of the mammoth supply which would otherwise have gone to waste and in order to release other foods to be shipped abroad.

These few instances, of course, are merely typical of other food shows and other meetings held throughout the state.

On June 24-29, 1918, a "Mother-Daughter" Congress was held at Albuquerque under the joint auspices of the State Agricultural College, the State Food Administration, the State Council of Defense, and the Woman's Committee. To this congress all the counties sent several "teams," each team consisting of a mother and a young girl — hence the title of the congress — to learn the latest methods of home economics and other branches of domestic and social service. Lectures and demonstrations were given by experts of national reputation. Three separate kitchens were

maintained by the Food Administration, the Extension Service division of the College, and the Woman's Committee of the Council of Defense. At these on successive days there were canning, drying, bread-making, cheese-making, and pinto-bean demonstrations, and demonstrations of other "home economic" subjects.

Of course, during this period of the "search for the substitutes," other activities went on and, indeed, multiplied. Red Cross work never flagged. At the same time, there were many "drives" for relief funds, for Red Cross and allied purposes, for comfort kits for the soldiers in camp, for the Smilage Campaign, for the Permanent Blind Relief Funds, for the Armenian and Servian Relief funds, for the Liberty Loan bonds — all these were either helped or actually pushed over the top by the women.

In all the Liberty Loan drives the women played a conspicuous part. At the time of the first Liberty Loan sale the women were barely organized; the campaign for the second will be remembered by the Liberty bonfires which were collected and lit by the women throughout the state; and when the time came for the third and fourth campaigns the women, splendidly organized, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Howard Huey, were sending out teams that worked well abreast of and sometimes outdistanced the men's committees. During the Fourth drive, the women of one county outdistanced the Men's Committee by approximately \$100,000.00. In another, the two chairmen reported sales made by the Woman's Committee alone which practically doubled the county quota. In a third, the women's chairman took over the work of the men's chairman, who was ill with influenza, and under her direction committees of both men and women doubled the county quota, of which amount the women obtained three fourths. Indeed, in many of the counties the women obtained a large percentage of the amount subscribed, chiefly through a house to house campaign for bonds, most of these being of small denomination. As an effective aid to cam-

paigning, and as a general patriotic incentive, mention must be made of the Liberty Choruses, instituted in every town and village through the department of Patriotic Education and Americanization of which Mrs. Alfred Grunsfeld was state chairman. At every important rally, these Choruses sang patriotic songs, and in many places, as one report reads, the Liberty Chorus "literally sang the Liberty Loan over the top!"

In every phase of home and foreign relief the women were equally active.

It is impossible to give any estimate of the Red Cross work done by the women of the state, since there was no separate state head of the organization — the work of the state coming under the Rocky Mountain division with headquarters at Denver — but the state had been well organized, and innumerable cases of knitted goods, refuge garments, hospital and first-aid supplies were shipped to the headquarters at Denver. Not only in the larger towns, but in the most remote mountain villages and in the Indian pueblos, Red Cross auxiliaries piled up work representing the devoted service of women to the cause of winning the war. In the Indian pueblos of San Juan and Santa Clara, to mention single instances, it was recorded that Indian women "have knitted sweaters, socks, scarfs, and made kits for the soldiers; have made dozens of bandages, sponges, wipes, handkerchiefs, tray cloths, etc., for the hospitals; and children's dresses, underwear, hoods and baby clothes for the refugees, these latter being trimmed with fancy stitches and crocheted edges showing their loving interest in the work. Even the children did their part in making gun wipes." It goes without saying that in all the larger towns the women carried on the Red Cross work with enthusiasm and determination, the work usually representing the sacrifice of all the leisure time at their disposal, as well as a curtailment of regular domestic duties. Nor did the work cease with the signing of the armistice. All the Red Cross branches continued to turn

out clothes for destitute children and citizens of the war-stricken countries.

Although the campaign for the Fund for the Fatherless Children of France was instituted somewhat late in New Mexico, the state was soon supporting 130 French orphans and almost all of these were adopted after August, 1918, when Mrs. I. H. Rapp became state chairman for the Fund. It was estimated that there were in France about 5,000,000 children who were without fathers as a result of the war. In order to make it possible for these children to remain with their families, and grow up and rebuild and perpetuate the nation that has meant and means so much to the cause of civilization and liberty, this American fund was started. It cost but 10 cents a day, \$36.50 a year, to become a godparent to one of these children, and the Fund undertook to fill New Mexico's quota of 488 children. It is interesting to note that the Girl Scouts of Santa Fe were the first organization in New Mexico to adopt a French orphan. They gave a dinner hoping to make enough to adopt one, and made enough for three; later they took two more.

Indeed, no account of Women's war activities in New Mexico would be complete without mention of the Girl Scouts, who fetched and carried for the Red Cross, collected newspapers and fruit pits, tended babies for mothers who wished to do Red Cross work, and in every way contributed willing and efficient service.

A movement brought into existence by the war of far-reaching importance was that of the Woman's Land Army which, in New Mexico, achieved quite remarkable results. Of course a great deal of work in this line was accomplished before any organization had been perfected; women in many districts helped save fruit and grain crops — notably in San Juan county in 1917; and of all this great amount of work no report is available. That the supply of food thus saved was very great, however, there can be no question. In the spring of 1918, however, under the

organization achieved by the state chairman of this department, Mrs. R. L. Fergusson, the movement began to take definite shape. The work was undertaken with the thought that American women might have to take the place of men on the land as French and English women had done. Working in connection with the county agricultural agents the Woman's Committee made a survey of the labor problem in each county, and women and girls were organized preparatory to help. When the harvest and fruit seasons came, various "squads" were assigned to certain districts, and the squad invariably made good, as was attested by their employers. To give but a few instances: in Mimbres Valley, Grant county, eight women mowed, raked, and stacked sixteen tons of hay. In the Gila Valley, Grant County, about thirty women and boys proved that they could pick and pack fruit so that it arrived at market in perfect condition, and at Mountain Park, Otero County, fifty women practically solved the problem of labor shortage and saved the fruit crop; the estimates proved that they handled about 31% of the crop-picking, grading and packing of about 27,700 boxes of apples. These women came from ten counties in the state. Most of the workers slept on the floor on alfalfa or pine boughs; the heat in the harvest fields where these women worked was often 110-116 degrees at noon; yet all not only survived the work but were physically benefitted by it without exception. During the excessive heat, the working hours for the "harvest hands" were from 6:30 to 11:30 A. M.; 3:00 until 8:00 P. M. with a short interval at five o'clock for tea. Such an organization abundantly proved that in a war emergency, the women could do their bit as effectively and willingly in this country as in England and France.

Of incalculable importance was the Child Welfare division of the Woman's Committee, which did splendid work in New Mexico under the joint auspices of the Woman's Committee, the Federated Women's Clubs, and the State Council of Defense with Mrs. Max Nordhaus as

Chairman of the Child Welfare department of the Woman's Committee and Dr. Edgar L. Hewett of the School of American Research at Santa Fe as director of examinations. This work was under the supervision of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor of which Miss Julia Lathrop was the head.

For the purpose of examining all children in the state under six years of age, an appropriation of \$1500 was made by the State Council of Defense and a training school for workers was instituted at Santa Fe during the week of September 16-23, 1918. In instituting this training course New Mexico had the advantage of the experience of other states conducting earlier campaigns, in which the mistake was made of having the examinations made by women not adequately trained. At the Child Welfare conference in Santa Fe the instruction in mental testing was given by a trained expert, Miss Montana Hastings of San Diego, California, and the work in physical examination by Dr. Hewett and several Santa Fe physicians. Forty-one delegates from various counties attended the conference, each of these women pledging herself to give at least six weeks to the work of examining the children in her community.

Instruments required for different physical measurements and tests were made by the children in the manual training classes of the Santa Fe High School and by children in the Indian School at Albuquerque, these children themselves manifesting deep interest in the work.

The work was progressing well and many children had been examined when unfortunately the influenza epidemic intervened. It is estimated that 300,000 children die annually in the United States of preventable causes, and of this number it is estimated that a high percentage could be saved through examination, diagnosis, and treatment. Undertaken primarily as a war measure, to repair the losses of the men killed in action, this work is an equally important peace measure—too obvious to be neglected by any enlightened state. For child welfare means adult wel-

fare — the welfare of the community and the state. The detection in childhood of physical and mental delinquencies, involving their correction whenever possible, is of such far-reaching importance that no progressive state can afford to ignore this avenue of social improvement. It is to be hoped that New Mexico will create some permanent state fund for continuing this work, and create and maintain a children's bureau, as other states are now doing.

In connection with this work may be mentioned the work of the Woman's Committee under the department of Health, Recreation and Social Service. This department, under the chairmanship of Dr. Janet Reid of Deming, did much for the social betterment of the soldiers in camp, co-operating in every respect with the government in this important work.

There are many phases of this social service work of vital importance to the state, not only during war but in time of peace, but the subject is too extensive to be gone into here.

One of the last features of the activity of the Woman's Committee before the signing of the armistice was the registration of women as student nurses to fill the place of those sent abroad. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Kate Hall, 77 women and young girls from the various counties were registered for this service.

It is to be regretted that this account can not embrace the activities of every group of women and of every woman in New Mexico who contributed services to the work of winning the war, but a list of these and of their accomplishments would require a separate volume. It seems highly fitting, however, that tribute should be paid to Mrs. W. E. Lindsey, who, as active state chairman, devoted an unlimited amount of time and energy to the organization of the Woman's Committee, and whose interest and co-operation never ceased even after the pressure of other duties made her relinquish the active chairmanship to Mrs. Geo. W. Prichard, who, in her turn, carried on and developed

to a high degree of efficiency the work begun by her predecessor. But indeed all the officers of the organization, and all the "privates," deserve "service stars" for their willing and patriotic contribution of time and effort to the cause.

As will be seen from this all too fragmentary summary, the work of the women of New Mexico was *constructive* throughout. That is why it seems essential that it should be continued through some permanent form of organization. Certainly there can be no doubt that the period of re-construction is as vital as was our winning the war. Even from this brief outline of what the women of New Mexico did—and the half has not been stated—it is evident that with concerted effort they might accomplish untold benefits for the community and for the state in times of peace. It is to be hoped therefore that most of these departments of the Woman's Committee of the Council of Defense may be maintained and perpetuated for the good of the community.

The generosity, the sacrifice, the will to serve on the part of the women of New Mexico during the war was impressive. Their spirit of public enterprise, of social intelligence, co-operation and faith should augur well for the future of the commonwealth.

ALICE CORBIN HENDERSON.

VI The Press and Public Opinion

Like a corps of well disciplined veterans, the newspapers of New Mexico without a moment's wavering fell into battle line and placed themselves voluntarily at the disposal of the government and all the recognized agencies that were bent upon winning the war. It was nothing short of marvelous, epoch-making, the unanimity of spirit and action. Public opinion responded enthusiastically to the leadership thus unselfishly assumed by the press. The seedlings of sedition, of pro-Germanism, even of dissent carefully planted, it seemed, by enemy propaganda, weak-

ened and died under the withering comment of news and editorial columns, while at the same time the plants of courage, of self-sacrifice, of patriotism took deeper root and grew rapidly and flourished. The blast that consumed the forces of disintegration on the one hand, also fanned the fires of national consciousness into flames that leaped the Atlantic. This unanimity of the press, especially in New Mexico, was the more surprising when one remembers that the right of dissent, or to fight the party in power, or to attack officials, is not only the most cherished palladium of the press, but also is, in many instances, the reason for the existence of many a newspaper. It is true to a large extent, that the newspaper which isn't fighting something or somebody in high places, or isn't scolding this or the other official in every issue, soon loses influence and esteem and, with these, loses subscribers and business. The press that had made it its business continually to question motives, to harp against officials and government action, all at once admitted that "theirs was not to reason why" but simply to do what the government deemed best for the winning of the war.

This unanimity, it must be said emphatically, was not inspired by narrow, local self-interest or fear. It was not the unanimity that at times is purchased by favors or brought about by coercion. There was no reptilian press in New Mexico. If anything, the Federal government treated the newspapers in a step-fatherly fashion. It mulcted them by increasing the cost of the mails to them, which newspaper owners had to pay in addition to the taxes which fell upon them as upon every one else. It restricted the amount of paper they could use and even prohibited their giving credit to subscribers or exchanging free copies with other publications.

The censorship never weighed heavily upon New Mexico papers nor was the espionage law necessary to keep them in line and in step. In most instances, the New Mexico press went farther than the Government in combating disloyalty, pro-Germanism and other "isms" that were not

in hearty accord with America's methods and spirit during the War. It is undoubtedly due to this solidarity of the press in insisting upon the most outspoken patriotism, that there were comparatively few cases of real disloyalty brought to the attention of the authorities during the entire war. It was an example of altruism that would accomplish marvels for the State in other fields if it were possible to center intelligently the support of the 140 or so periodical publications in the State in favor of any given specific cause.

It must be said, however, that it was fortunate for Nation and State that the War came to the United States after the presidential campaign of 1916 had been fought, after the president had been again inaugurated, after the new congress was organized and after most of the state legislatures had completed their sessions. It was the most auspicious time for an era of good feeling in which partisanship would be forgotten in a great common cause. It was fortunate too, that the War had been practically won before the congressional and state campaigns of 1918 were in full swing, for voices of disagreement, of severe criticism, again found utterance as the campaign progressed and here in New Mexico too, President Wilson and his politics, the State Council of Defense and the conduct of the War were criticised with partisan bitterness from October on, when according to Frank H. Simonds of the *American Review of Reviews*, the military decision of the Great War had come at Cambria and St. Quentin.

One can not measure adequately the beneficent result of the solidarity of the New Mexico press in aiding the Nation in every manner possible to win the War. The happenings along the border had brought forth sharp criticism in New Mexico and inspired vigorous conflict of opinion. The disintegration of the National Guard upon its return to home armories and the fight waged in the Legislature to abolish it altogether, were not conducive to voluntary enlistment. But the press of New Mexico quickly wrought a change of sentiment and it was due to its insistence that

New Mexico men must give unquestioning allegiance, that practically one half of the military enlistments, besides all of the naval recruits, were volunteers, and that when the draft came, there was a willing response to the Nation's call. For reasons given in other chapters, the situation in New Mexico was far more difficult and complicated than in other states and the draft boards readily acknowledged that but for the liberal support and patriotic fervor of the press, the task of calling the men to the colors would have been infinitely more burdensome. The opposition of the press, even if it could not have defeated conscription, would have made its enforcement a continuous riot. The Nation and the people should recognize that the press was the fulcrum for the lever that furnished the power which raised armies, supplied billions of dollars, and upheld the morale of the country. Other interests may have given as generously and as whole heartedly, but certainly none gave more effectively than did the newspapers in every cause for the winning of the War.

If one were to figure the value of the space given to the Liberty Loan, Red Cross, United War Work and other drives, the sum would be formidable indeed, although it could in no way compare with the value of the editorial support of the War by the newspapers. In the United War Work campaign in November, 1918, four daily newspapers in Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe gave free of charge something like 400 columns of editorial and other reading matter. The other newspapers did as well in proportion. Multiply this by the number of the various other causes supported at that and other times, and the total during the nineteen months of war amounted to thousands of pages. It must be remembered that this was in addition to the actual news of the war, the news notes about the men who participated, and the space given to advertisers, all of which aided in bringing the conflict home to the people and to maintain their fervor for the American cause.

During the War, the records show, not one New Mex-

ico newspaper was prosecuted under the Espionage Act. In only one instance was the loyalty of an editor questioned and that was more for utterances made by his newspaper before the United States had declared war than for any expressions or acts afterwards. In fact, the paper concerned was most zealous in its support of President Wilson and his politics and long before the end of the War dissipated any and all doubt about its patriotism. True, most of the papers of the State print no editorial expressions except during the heat of a political campaign, and some of them carried very little if any news or comment on the war itself, but they all gave liberally of their space to the war causes and to the local aspects of war policies and acts and thus helped to crystallize public opinion in favor of the draft, assisted in raising billions of dollars through taxation and popular loans, and dissipated whatever sentiment there existed against the Allies, especially Great Britain. At the same time it assured parents that their sons received every care and attention in camp and cantonment, that the boys were safeguarded as far as humanly possible against immoral and sinister influences, and aroused local pride to emulation of the example set by other communities.

Several New Mexico newspapermen gave their time freely as publicity agents in various drives. E. Dana Johnson, editor of the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, was in charge, for instance, of the publicity for the State Food administration. Guthrie Smith was editor of the *New Mexico War News* for the State Council of Defense, State Senator A. V. Lucero taking charge of the Spanish edition. Willard E. Holt of the *Deming Graphic* became secretary of Camp Activities at Camp Cody. Quite a number of newspaper employees enlisted either in active military service or in war construction work, Lieut. Frank Newkirk, editor of the *Pecos Valley News* at Artesia for instance, serving in France. Several newspapers were seriously crippled because their employees had gone to war. If there were any

slackers in any respect among the State's journalists, the public records available do not disclose it. It is safe to say that the War left no New Mexico publisher richer in material wealth than he went into it.

It is interesting to follow the evolution of newspaper opinion in New Mexico from the day that Austria declared war upon Serbia until the days that followed the armistice and it is significant that right from the start, the bulk of New Mexico newspapers were anti-German if not pro-Ally. As early as August 2, 1914, the *Albuquerque Morning Journal* said editorially:

"Whatever may occur to the other nations involved, Germany will be crushed. It is hardly probable that she will come out of the struggle, if real war ensue, without the loss of Alsace and Lorraine to France and of German Poland to Russia. It is not likely that Great Britain would permit further diminution of the empire, because it would seriously disturb the balance of power in Europe, which the English nation has been building up since the downfall of Napoleon."

However, in those early days, the *Journal* as most other papers, did not place the blame for the War entirely on the Central Empires. Says an editorial on August 1, 1914:

"Nor is Austria, from its own point of view, to blame for this present grave condition. Austria precipitated it, to be sure, but the crisis is really due to conditions that make a conflict inevitable. Serbia is not entirely a victim."

Very early in the War, the press recognized the real German aim. Said the *Albuquerque Morning Journal* on August 3, 1914:

"The real contest centers about the spirit of pan-Germanism, as represented by Russia and the Balkan states. The key to the situation has been the kaiser The game Germany has played is a terribly perilous one. We of the United States can only hope that the punishment nearly sure to come to her may not be too severe, for to the German people this Nation and the World owe a debt of lasting

gratitude for the great advances they have made in learning and research work which has blessed all mankind."

Still, the *Journal* as well as many other newspapers, was mistaken about the strength of Russia. It headed its leading editorial on August 4, 1914: "Russia the Unconquerable," and predicted that Russia "may dictate peace from Vienna or Berlin. The other powers combined could dictate peace from St. Petersburg."

As early as August 7, 1914, the *Journal* pointed to the necessity of a shipping program by the United States, saying:

"It is not likely that the war will last long enough to shift world shipping to the American flag as largely as it was shifted a century ago, but such temporary impulse would utilize our ocean shipping more than subsidies."

The editorial attitude of the *Morning Journal* is cited because it became immediately articulate in its opinion upon war events and was not prone to take its cue merely from the press of the great news centers of America. However, there are other newspapers in New Mexico of whom this can be said although the *Journal*, being the only morning and every-day publication in New Mexico, had, independent of its statewide, large subscription-list, a considerable influence in shaping the opinions of many of the other newspapers. It was important therefore that the *Journal* recognized early in the War that the press must be solidly behind the American authorities, for it said on August 9, 1914:

"It is the duty of the press, of the civil authorities, and of the people themselves, no matter what their personal sympathies and antipathies may be, to speak calmly. It is the duty of every one at an hour like this to hold his tongue."

The press right from the start recognized the hopelessness of Germany's ambition. On August 14, 1914, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* said:

"It is hard to believe that Germany can get off with what she has undertaken."

However, the *New Mexican*, like the *Journal*, evidently believed at that time that the blame was not entirely on Berlin and Vienna, for in speaking of the death of the Pope on August 20, 1914, and his dying appeal for peace, it said:

"And how blasphemous, in contrast, appear the boasting of Gaul and Teuton and Russ and Anglo-Saxon each that 'God is on our side'!"

In fact, the New Mexico daily papers were loath to believe the first stories of German outrages in Belgium. Said the *New Mexican* on August 20, 1914:

"It is only fairness to call attention to the fact that the daily dispatches picturing the alleged barbarity and inhumanity of the Germans come entirely from prejudiced sources and entirely through partisan channels."

On August 26, 1914, the *Albuquerque Morning Journal* expressed itself on the same subject as follows:

"We are having the usual crop of stories that always come with any war, of outrages perpetrated by one set of belligerents on soldiers of the other and on the non-combatants It is always well to discount stories of this sort, especially when they are told while the passions of war still rage and while those who tell them have a direct interest in influencing public opinion against their adversaries. War is not a parlor game. It is decidedly rough. Adherents of one side of the struggle are not apt to be any too gentle with those of the other. Charges of brutality are to be expected when one set of men are trying their utmost to kill another In every army there are soldiers of brutal instincts commanded by officers who do not exercise the proper restraint over them."

On August 16, 1914, the *Morning Journal* foreshadowed a League of Nations as the solution for the war problem. It said:

"The barriers between men are artificial. Take them down in a federation of some kind and men will not fight.

They don't need to and they don't wish to. War is the great illusion. The United States proves it."

Two days later, the *Journal* expressed the opinion that the War would end soon. At least, it said:

"The war cannot last for years unless the armies of Europe and the peoples of Europe fall back upon primitive conditions, for they cannot support the war financially. It is estimated that the cost of it now is approximately \$50,000,000 a day. At that rate, Europe will, as Bismark predicted of the first great war, be bled as white as veal."

But it was only two weeks later, that the *Journal* came to the conclusion:

"The more Germany succeeds, the more certain it is that the war will be a long one. But there can be but one end to it—Germany will be crushed, but at an awful price of blood and treasure."

It was on the same day that the *Journal* said:

"It is easy to guess that fully ten million voters in the United States are thankful that Theodore is not now president."

The next day, the *Journal* again referred to the stories of atrocities in Belgium:

"We may take with several grains of salt the stories of atrocities committed by the Germans We must remember there were crops of such stories of American outrages in the Philippines and of British outrages committed against the Boers. While war is hell, most of such reports are false."

However, all of New Mexico's newspapers became more and more convinced that the stories of German brutality in Belgium and France were the truth and their comment became increasingly bitter. Most pronounced in its anger, even after the signing of the armistice, was the *Albuquerque Evening Herald*, which insisted that Germany and its people must be made to pay the last ounce of their ability and even referred to the attitude of Shylock in demanding the fulfilling of his contract, as the proper one

to assume toward Germany's petitions to modify the terms of the armistice.

The *Las Vegas Optic* was filled with similar indignation, and said editorially on Christmas Eve, 1918:

"There is something sickening in the contrast between smug, comfortable Germany, welcoming her soldiers after their debauch of wanton cruelty, and these poor, desolate French towns with their more desolate people. It is well to bear this contrast in mind, as the peace conference assembles. Then there will be little danger that any peace terms dictated to Germany will seem too harsh to any nation save Germany herself. As a matter of fact, it will be a difficult matter for any men inherently decent to impose terms that are harsh enough to be adequate punishment for all the ruin and horror that Germany has wrought."

If any provocative was needed to set the newspapers of New Mexico more firmly against Germany, it was the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The *Albuquerque Morning Journal* said in commenting on this wanton act:

"The act of the German submarine admits no excuse. That it was planned by the German Navy, with the full assent of the kaiser's government, cannot be doubted. Its planning was as deliberate as its execution was dastardly. But it does not constitute cause for war by this country. The sinking of the *Gullflight*, from the viewpoint of international law, was far more serious . . . As for Germany, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, in the language of Talleyrand, was worse than a crime, it was a blunder. That act has caused a shudder of horror throughout the civilized world, far greater than was caused by the wanton destruction of Louvain. It gives more color to the charge by Germany's enemies that crass materialism, in which mercy, justice and God are not considered, rules the thought and the actions of that empire and inspires its policies of government."

The *Santa Fe New Mexican* declared on May 10, 1915:

"At one blow the German nation has forfeited and irretrievably lost the sympathy and moral support of the people of America in her war with the allies."

Still, newspaper opinion in New Mexico was not yet ready for war with Germany. Said the *New Mexican* on May 8, 1915:

"The time is not one for precipitate action; but it is one for absolutely determined and unwavering action, no time for temporizing. The assassination or attempted assassination of American men, women and children is the culmination of a series of outrages upon America, American citizens and the American flag."

The *Morning Journal* added on May 3, 1915:

"We can hardly conceive of the sending of an American expeditionary force across the Atlantic to take part in the war in Belgium and in France. Besides, the allies have all the fighting forces there that can be used effectively."

Less than a year's persistence of Germany in its unrestricted submarine warfare changed all this and New Mexico papers sturdily swung in line for war to the hilt. Yet, as late as March 2, 1917, the *Glenrio Tribune-Progress* queried and answered, editorially:

"Is the pacifist a traitor or patriot?" asks the *Literary Digest*. Decidedly the latter, for he or she prevents, by honest means, harm coming to the good old U. S. A."

The *New Mexican* on March 20, 1917, put it very strongly when it said:

"It is well to bear in mind that when the last ditch is crossed we have been driven and bullied and pushed and goaded across it by the German in a way never before known in history. And it is well to bear in mind that the man in America who at this pass will seek to justify Germany for murder of Americans, for murder of Americans on the high seas, is little different virtually from the man who directs the torpedo's flight from the bowels of the Teuton submarine. Certainly, he has no business in the United States. For a couple of years the United States has been warred upon and has not resisted. And the Germans say we are 'seeking it'!"

On April 1, 1917, the *Morning Journal* declared:

"We have to lick the Kaiser, but that is no reason why we should make every man who was born in Germany the object of our wrath."

On April 2, 1917, the *Journal* said further:

"We must fight with every ounce of powder we have—every dollar, every pound of man-power in the industries, at home or in the trenches abroad."

The following day an editorial heading confidently proclaimed: "Democracies always Win," and on April 4, 1917, two editorial headings were: "We must be One People," and "Show your Patriotism." On April 8, editorial captions announced confidently "The Kaiser Must Go," and "No Weak Peace." Yet there was still compassion for the enemy, for the *Journal* in speaking of the fruits of the war which would accrue from a victorious peace, said: "It will result in the liberation of the German people themselves." Truly it seems the spirit of prophesy does at time dwell in editorial sanctums.

Yet, less than two weeks later, the *Journal* exclaimed editorially:

"What is the matter with New Mexico?

We can't respond, 'She's all right,' because she is not.

We are without friends, without organization, without head or tail."

However, this was merely a wail in a determined campaign to force the calling of a special session of the legislature. Some of the newspapers were not convinced that a special session was necessary but once it was called, practically every newspaper admitted the wisdom of the step and approved of the action taken. There was division over some of the measures hastily proposed and over the question of the emergency appropriation for war purposes. But there never has been any hesitancy about the general proposition that everything must be done to help the nation win the War. Said the *Tucumcari American*:

"The gravity of the situation is not understood by the

rabble, but the patriotic American who must stand or fall under the folds of Old Glory, who is looking with a clear vision in the future and who is steeled for the conflict, is not giving up any blarney. He realizes what war with its incident train of disaster, its destruction of property and life and its miserable miseries may bring to our loved country. War is a sacrifice; war is misery, and Sherman was right, when he said: War is hell. But, we are in it. Some men doubt that there was ever a just war. Others love it for war's sake, and the soldier of fortune is conspicuous in romance, and it is not impossible that a man who has nothing to do with bringing it about is among the first to take up arms in the defense of the flag. No rational human being wants war, but the heritage of liberty, handed down to us by the founders of this government, no matter what the cause that brings its perpetuation into jeopardy, must be defended with the life and property of the nation. And in entering into the war, let us stand unitedly in both spirit and purpose and let harmony and unity guide and temper our action. Let us do the right thing under the circumstances always and give our substance and our loyal service to the country."

On April 13, 1917, the *Silver City Enterprise* broke an editorial lance in defense of the National Guard which had been in service on the Mexican Border. At the same time, the *Enterprise* spoke as follows of conscription:

"As a matter of fact there is nothing undemocratic about the draft system. Certain things necessary for the welfare of the country must be done. Every man of military age should be considered ready to serve his country when called upon and a careful selection, made with all the facts available, would probably work the minimum hardship. In any event the pay should be made commensurate with the service rendered."

The *Enterprise* a month later commended the special session of the legislature as follows:

"The special session of the legislature which adjourned Tuesday took only eight days to transact all its business and adopted measures of great value to the state in the present national crisis. Such a good record naturally arouses the envy and malice of those small-souled people

and newspapers who would inject politics into a situation which requires at this time great patience, foresight, judgment, and complete laying aside of all prejudices, political and otherwise."

The *Tatum Democrat* was not so favorably impressed, for it printed:

"The New Mexico legislature is in session and its sessions are, as usual, marked with a lot of useless juggling and cheap wrangling. If there be any statesmanship in a man it surely would show up at a critical period like now."

The *Carrizozo News*, had both praise and blame, for it delivered itself of the following editorially:

"At this time and at this distance it appears that the people of New Mexico have the upper house of the state legislature to thank for killing some rather questionable war legislation proposed by the lower house. No crisis in the Country's affairs is of sufficient gravity it would seem to overcome the small bore politician's propensity to play politics."

Even more severe were several of the criticisms of Democratic papers in commenting upon the appointment of the State Council of Defense by the State's Executive, charging him with appointing too few Democrats. The *Las Vegas Journal*, the *Sierra Free Press* and the *Portales Valley News* were among those especially outspoken. At the same time, the *Estancia News-Herald* pounced upon the float representative from Torrance, Santa Fe and Guadalupe counties for introducing and having passed by the lower house a measure to tax the railroads on cars and engines by the 'car mile,' a procedure, which, according to the *News Herald*, would have taxed the Santa Fe Railroad to the extent of \$3,000,000 a year or more, ample to meet not only all extraordinary war expenses but also all of the ordinary expenses besides. Said the paper further:

"Of course, the introducer knew just as much about the bill as Tobe's pup—and no more. It was a sandbag bill, prepared by somebody for the purpose of swatting somebody else."

In other words, the federal censorship and unanimity of effort to win the War had not robbed the New Mexico press of picturesque expressions in criticizing legislators and officials. The *Rio Grande Republican* made mince meat of a proposition to have the state appropriate the sum needed to raise and equip a cowboy cavalry regiment to be commanded by "Rough Riders." Its local contemporary, the *Las Cruces Citizen* had peppery editorial comment upon measures fathered by Cipriano Lucero, a member of the lower house from Santa Fe County. The *Fort Sumner Leader* as well as the *Santa Fe Eagle*, felt moved to comment adversely upon legislators and legislative employees accepting pay for their services during the special session.

The press seconded enthusiastically the efforts of the State Council of Defense to increase agricultural production. It was no doubt due in part to the insistent urging of the newspapers that, despite drouth and every possible untoward condition, the total crop values for 1918 were greater than ever before in the history of the commonwealth. Typical is the comment of *La Voz Pública* at Santa Rosa:

"Wear a 'frijole' as a pin on your tie, but also wear a callous or two on your hand as additional appendage that you are proving your words by your works. Make a couple of beans grow, where 'nairn grewed before.' Its lots of fun, it's profitable too, and patriotic, by the way."

On July 10, 1917, the *New Mexico War News* was ushered into existence by the State Council of Defense. It was published weekly with Guthrie Smith as editor, and toward the end, with State Senator A. V. Lucero editor of the Spanish edition. It was modeled no doubt after the first similar publications in other states, and was to serve the same purpose in the state that the *Official Bulletin* published at Washington, D. C., was designed to serve in the nation. But it was a good deal snappier, although it shared with the *Official Bulletin* the cordial opposition by the other papers that attaches to every kind of newspaper that is

subsidized and which serves mere propaganda. Guthrie Smith's and George Creel's editorial peers were loath to make use of the excellent material which both publications offered them free of charge. Still, Smith was quoted much oftener, in proportion to size of clientele, than was George Creel and his publication. When the *War News* became more and more outspoken against the Hearst newspapers, it aroused as much of a storm in the State as did the *Official Bulletin* with its aircraft predictions and accounts of naval victories. To emphasize its patriotism, the *War News* was printed in blue ink on white paper. The fireworks started by its utterances no doubt furnished the red in several of the editorial sanctums, even no farther away than the Capital City. The climax came with injunction proceedings brought by the International News Company in the Federal Court, in which Guthrie Smith was made one of the defendants. With its teeth partly pulled by judicial decree, its press force crippled by the "flu," and the end of the war in sight, the *War News* was discontinued, having valiantly served its purpose and having furnished historical archives in New Mexico with part of their most precious and valuable records.

One could go on citing paper upon paper, editorial after editorial, which helped to hold the lines at home while the New Mexico men were being trained in increasing numbers and rushed to the trenches in France to help throw back the invaders of France and Belgium. Very early in the draft, the *Otero County News* dwelt in praise upon "the physical shape of the young men who come in from the mountain districts of the country." The *Silver City Independent*, equally proud of Grant County men who attended the first officers' reserve camp at the Presidio, devoted a leading editorial to them. The *Farmington Times-Hustler*, which wore blue spectacles repeatedly when making war comment, relieved its mind of the following:

"Watch for the names of those who buy Liberty bonds and see if those who are most posing as patriots are on the

lists. Some people are very patriotic when there is a chance of getting some money from the government, whose enthusiasm wanes when they are asked to give some money to help the government. It is every man's duty who can possibly spare the money to assist in making this loan a success!"

The *Rio Grande Republican* appeared to be peevish when it said:

"There is something peculiarly offensive in having the women of wealthy families going about the cities in their automobiles and calling on the more humble people urging them to practice economy in the use of food. Those humble people have studied and practiced economy from sheer necessity all the days of their lives, and now that the cost of the necessities of life has reached outrageous figures, wholly out of proportion to wages and salaries, circumstances force an economy more exacting than the society dames are able to conceive of."

The *New Southwest* at Reserve, in its first number on December 1, 1917, headed its leading editorial "War to the Knife and the Knife to the Hilt", and voiced vigorously the sentiments that animated the New Mexico Press.

The *Portales Valley News* thought it "funny that General Crowder's revised draft rules make first-class men of some of those who fail to support their wives and children," and in the same issue pleads for publicity and information in place of suppression of important triumphs of American mobilization when the publication of such knowledge would hearten Americans as well as Allies and discourage the enemy.

The *Clayton Citizen* as late as August 2, called down the men from its own town who sought to have Union County's Liberty Bond quota reduced and resented the insinuation that it was pro-German. In speaking of the "Work or Fight" movement, it declared:

"It would also be well for some of the useless and unnecessary coupon clippers who talk much and spend much, to emulate the working man in his patriotism by doing some useful service."

The W. W. W. and the International Socialists received short shrift from the pens of New Mexico's editorial writers, and there was practical unanimity in condemning slackers of every kind and donouncing those of pro-German or pacifist leanings. In fact, at first, there was lack of condemnation and, every now and then, thinly veiled praise for those who resorted to mob methods in their patriotic fervor, real or assumed, to stamp out opposition to the war or unfriendliness to the government. After President Wilson and Governor Lindsey had made it clear that such mob violence worked into the hands of the enemy, the press was unanimous in condemning it, although there were again utterances of commendation when convicts at the State Penitentiary tarred and feathered an army officer from Camp Cody who was confined there for safe keeping under charges preferred against him under the espionage act.

The Spanish language press was as loyal and as fervent in its editorial comment on the war and war measures as the papers printed in English. Such weeklies as *La Revista de Taos* and *La Voz del Pueblo*, and certainly *La Revista Católica*, were more philosophical, and at times perhaps more just, in their observations. The last named on April 8, 1917, called for "Mas Prudencia y Mas Justicia!" in an editorial which said:

"La Prensa, más bien cierta parte de la prensa, fue la causa de la guerra del 98; y la prensa, casi toda ella, es la causa de nuestra participación en la presente. Algunos dicen que sí está o no está subvencionada para esto; por supuesto. los periódicos principales lo niegan; con todo están haciendo la obra tan bien como si para ello recibieran una remuneración. Si entramos en la guerra, y ya no nos cabe la menor duda de que esto será lo primero que decidirá el Congreso, se lo debemos al sentimiento que ha creado fomentado, y sostenido la prensa."

In speaking of patriotism, it cited with approval Brownson's "War and Loyalty," saying:

"El verdadero patriotismo se manifiesta con obras, y no con palabras. Los verdaderos patriotas americanos no son esos seres ligeros de cascos y de corazón apocado que

están continuamente cacareando el espíritu americano, el genio americano, los intereses y la grandeza americana . . . ; sine aquellos espíritus reposados, callados y serenos, a quienes rara vez se les ocurre preguntarse si son americanos o no, y son demasiado sinceros y ardientes en su patriotismo para sonar que sea necesario hacer alarde de sus títulos. Su patriotismo no tiene sospechas, ni celos, ni temor, ni es arrogante. Es demasiado profundo para describirlo con palabras. Es callado y majestuoso. Donde está la patria allí está él ; hace lo que ella manda, y, aunque sacrifique todo sobre las aras de la patria, nunca se le ocurre que está haciendo cosa extraordinaria. Hay probablemente mas de este patriotismo puro entre el pueblo americano que los extranjeros o nosotros mismos creemos."

The editor of *La Revista de Taos* expressed his contempt for those who in profound ignorance volunteer suggestions on how to win the war, though it was a striking virtue of the New Mexico press that it very seldom, if ever, suggested how the war should be fought, thus differentiating its attitude from that of many newspapers during the Civil War and even the Spanish American War. Says the *Revista* under the headline "Dislatas y Disparates":

"En tiempos de agitación y de efervescencia popular que trae consigo el prospecto de una guerra, los consejeros voluntarios son los que siempre se adelantan a discurrir y proponer medios y arbitrios que se señalan por su falta de razón y de sentido común. De este género son las proposiciones que se han de levantar un regimiento de Indios Navajoes, y otro de Indios de Pueblo."

It is this editor too who declared that dreams of a league of nations and universal peace are a chimera, saying:

"La quimera de la paz y el buen acuerdo entre todas las razas y naciones del mundo ha recibido su glope de muerte, y no volverá a reaparecer en la imaginación de los hombres de sentido sino como un sueño o un delirio que jamás puede convertirse en realidad. Lo que sí verán las generaciones presente y futuras es guerras mas mortíferas y asoladoras cada dia en todas partes del universo."

By the summer of 1918, newspaper offices were literally swamped with publicity matter sent out by govern-

ment and its agencies as well as by war charities. In many if not most offices, envelopes containing publicity matter were dumped into the waste-basket without being read. The publicity that found its way into print gave the gen- ever a time when the mythical office cat was fed so flood of readable and interesting publicity matter poured into editorial offices. It happened that an editor would get in the same mail three or four copies of the same publicity clip sheet or half a dozen identical appeals. Nor was there ever a time when the mythical office cat was fed so much printed and mimeographed matter. Said one New Mexico editor at the Capital: "This stuff could not jimmy its way into this paper with a crow bar. When we are cut down to a minimum in the use of paper, these reams and reams of publicity matter fill our waste-baskets day after day as if in derision." However, the press continued with the utmost liberality to give its most valuable space in great prodigality to the Fourth Liberty Loan, and even after the Armistice was in effect, to the United War Work Drive, the Red Cross Roll Call and the Armenian Drive.

It is hardly fair to confront an editor with his utterances made years before under circumstances that differ vitally from those today, and yet no truer mirror of the times, no juster account of events, can be given than is found in the New Mexico press from August 1, 1914, to November 11, 1918. Fortunate and far-seeing is he who has kept a file of his favorite home paper for future generations to enjoy. In fact he himself will find no more interesting pastime in after years than to browse through these papers. Many a veteran lived over the Civil War in files of *Harpers' Weekly*, and many a survivor of the Great War, in glancing over the old copies of some humble New Mexico weekly, will recall vividly the beautiful, unanimous loyalty with which New Mexico answered the Nation's call for men, for means, for moral support, in the days when the world's fate trembled in the balance.

PAUL A. F. WALTER

THE SECOND SPANISH EXPEDITION TO NEW MEXICO

J. LLOYD MECHAM

An Account of the Chamuscado-Rodriguez Entrada of 1581-1582

After the sorry outcome of the Coronado expedition, no white men appeared within the present confines of New Mexico for a period of forty years. The complete failure of the first entrada has generally been regarded as an eloquent warning which discouraged further exploration into the New Mexican region. But this alone cannot explain the lapse of interest in the far north. The great Indian revolt, the Mixon War, in Nueva Galicia, which occurred during the absence of Governor Coronado, pointed out a pertinent lesson to the Spaniards regarding the advisability of natural and compact frontiers. Also, the discovery of rich mines in Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Durango engaged the interest of treasure seekers and exerted an even greater influence in expelling the once glamorous New Mexico from the minds of men.

During the forty years succeeding the Coronado expedition, there was a steady northward advance from Nueva

1. The principal printed sources regarding the entrada are those documents contained in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados, en su mayor parte, del Real Archivo de Indias* (Madrid, 1864-1886), XV. Most of these are translated in H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1707* (New York, 1916), 137-160. Accompanying his translation of the soldiers' narratives, Bolton refers in his footnotes to two unpublished accounts which had just come into his possession: (1) Baltasar de Obregón, "Crónica comentario ó relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de N. E. y del Nuevo Mexico," 1584 (Archivo General de Indias, 1-1-3/22); and (2) Hernan Gallegos, "Relación y conculdo de el viage y subseo que Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus compañeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico en junio de 1581" (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22). Beyond this slight use these documents have never been consulted for an authoritative account. In the preparation of this article the writer has made use of the materials mentioned above, and unpublished documents which he found in the Archivo General de Indias.

Galicia² into the newly-organized province of Nueva Vizcaya³. By 1580 the limits of Spanish settlement were carried north to Santa Bárbara, located in southern Chihuahua on one of the sources of the Rio Conchos. There were congregated miners, soldiers, and Franciscan friars. It was from this northern outpost that the soldiers and missionaries were recruited to undertake the second invasion of New Mexico.

Santa Bárbara was the center of a rich mining district, but unfortunately for the mine owners, the native population was all too sparse to insure profitable working of the mines. To supply the labor deficiency numerous slave-hunting expeditions were made far to the north, some beyond the Rio Grande.⁴ On these raids the frontiersmen learned about a country still farther to the north where there were people who wore cotton garments, irrigated their fields of maize and beans, and lived in large, well-built "cities." Thus were revived tales of New Mexico, adorned as of old with magnetic glamour. These rumors found ready listeners in some of the restless soldiers and missionaries of Santa Bárbara.

The principal organizer and guiding spirit of the expedition to New Mexico was Father Augustín Rodríguez, a Franciscan lay-brother stationed at San Bartolomé, a little mining camp a short distance to the northeast of Santa Bárbara. Closely associated with the friar in the work of organizing the entrada was Francisco Sanchez, commonly called "El Chamuscado," or "the singed," because of his flaming red beard. Father Rodríguez was undoubtedly encouraged by his lay associate to secure a license for an expedition because it was much easier for a religious to obtain permission to enter unexplored lands. By the terms

2. Organized by Nuño de Guzmán (1529-1535). The Audiencia of Nueva Galicia was created in 1548.

3. Conquered and settled by Francisco de Ibarra (1562-1575). Nueva Vizcaya comprised approximately the present Mexican states of Durango, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Sonora.

4. Diego Pérez de Luxán, "Entrada que hizo en el Nuevo Mexico Anton de Espejo en el año de 82" (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

of the Ordinance of 1573, no one was allowed to enter unexplored territory beyond the frontiers of New Spain without first obtaining permission from the viceroy, audiencia, or royal council. This of course retarded exploration for it was very difficult to obtain a license. The religious orders were favored, however, for, says the ordinance, "let the discovery be entrusted to them (the religious) rather than to others, and authority be granted them for the purpose, and let them be favored and provided with all necessities for such a holy and worthy undertaking at our expense."

In November, 1580, Father Agustín presented in person a petition to Viceroy Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza, asking that he be granted a license to lead some missionaries beyond Santa Bárbara "for the purpose of preaching the Holy Gospel." The viceroy, in consideration of the great zeal of the padre, granted him permission to take with him as many friars as he desired, and a maximum of twenty soldiers, "for the safety of their persons, and in order that they might be able to preach the Holy Gospel." He was also given a captain's commission to bestow upon one of the soldiers as leader of the expedition. Father Augustín, presumably according to previous arrangement, gave the commission to Chamuscado.

Preparations for the expedition were made in Santa Bárbara, the northernmost pueblo on the Christian frontier. The personnel consisted of three Franciscan friars and nine soldiers. Besides Father Agustín Rodríguez, the religious were Father Francisco López and Father Juan de Santa María. Father López was designated the superior. The soldier guard was composed of Captain Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, Hernán Gallegos, (official scribe and chronicler who gives us the fullest account of the ex-

5. "Ordenanzas de Su Magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos, conquistas y pacificaciones," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 142-187.

6. Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

7. "Permission was not given for more men to go because your majesty had issued instructions that no entries should be made without your express opinion" ("Report of the Viceroy," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 158).
until the expedition had reached New Mexico.

pedition), Pedro de Bustamante, Hernando Barrado, Felipe de Escalante, Pedro de Heviera, Pedro Sanchez de Fuensalida, Juan Sanchez de Fuensalida, and Sanchez de Chavez.⁸ There were also in the party nineteen Indian servants, two of them being Indian women.⁹ All equipment and supplies were furnished at the viceroy's expense, for the expedition was to be made in his service. They had good offensive and defensive arms, such as arquebuses, coats-of-mail, and armour for the horses; munitions, ninety saddle and draft horses, six hundred cows, goats, ewes, sheep, and hogs, ground maize, and pieces of iron and trinkets to be bartered with the natives.¹⁰

All arrangements having been completed, the missionaries and soldiers departed from Santa Bárbara on June 5, 1581. On that day they traveled down the San Gregorio River to the frontier outpost San Bartolomé, or, as it was sometimes called, San Gregorio.¹¹ On the the next day, June 6, 1581, the explorers resumed their march down the San Gregorio River to the junction of the Conchos, Florido, and San Gregorio rivers. Thereafter they followed the Conchos to its junction with the Rio Grande del Norte.

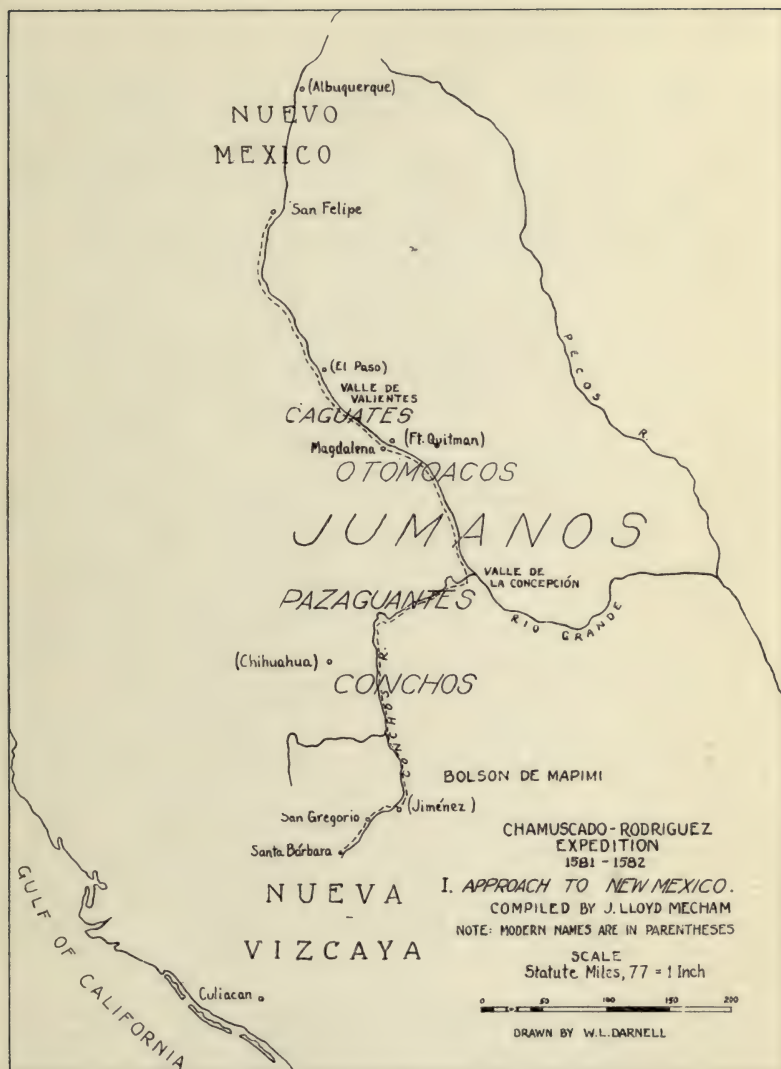
The first wild Indians, called Chichimecos, found by the explorers were the Conchos, who occupied a strip of territory about fifty leagues in extent along the banks of the Conchos River and north of the Conchos-Florido junc-

8. Escalante and Barrado, "Brief and True Account of the Exploration of New Mexico, 1588," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 154; Gallegos, *Relación*, and Obregón, *Crónica*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; Gallegos to the King, March 14, 1583 (A. G. I., 66-5-16).

9. Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22). Pedro de Bustamante, ("Declaration of Pedro de Bustamante, 1582," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 144) testified that the soldiers had an Indian servant apiece, and that the friars took seven Indians from Santa Bárbara.

10. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

11. A comparison of the sources leads to the inference that San Bartolomé and San Gregorio were located on the same site. See Espejo, "Account of the journey to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico, 1583," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 170; Luxán, *Entrada*, and Gallegos, *Relación*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 74) says that the present Allende-Jiménez region was known by the various names of San Bartolomé, Santa Bárbara, Santa Bárbola, and San Gregorio.



tion.¹² These Indians were in a very low state of development, and, indeed, compared very unfavorably with the natives who lived north of them. They were an unclothed people, and, living principally by the chase, they had no permanent homes. They did not sow maize, but ate ground mesquite, prickly-pears, calabashes, fish, and game. They were described by Gallegos as ugly, lazy, and filthy. Notwithstanding the fact that these Indians had been visited occasionally by missionaries, their principal contact with the Spaniards had been with the slave hunters. Therefore, with good reason the Conchos viewed the approach of Chamuscado and his companions with alarm. Often they fled into the mountains, but generally the padres were able to reassure them and convince them of the peaceful purpose of their mission.

After the explorers had marched fifty leagues through the Conchos nation, they came to another tribe, the Pazaguantes.¹³ Here solar observations were taken by Father Santa María, who was a trained astronomer, and he found that they were near the twenty-ninth parallel of north latitude.¹⁴ The Pazaguantes had been visited by the slave-hunting expeditions, and, like the Conchos, displayed great alarm upon witnessing the approach of the Spaniards. The friars reassured them, as they had the Conchos, and to protect them from future harm by the slavers, they erected crosses in their villages so that the Christians, upon seeing them, would not harm the Indians. The Pazaguantes inhabited the banks of the Conchos River for a distance of only about forty miles. Chamuscado's party, therefore, was soon within the borders of a third Indian nation, the Jumanos.¹⁵

12. Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

13. According to Obregón and Gallegos the Conchos' neighbors on the north were the Cabri. The Cabri have been identified with the Pazaguantes, See Luxán (*Entrada*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22) and Espejo (*Account of the Journey to New Mexico*, 171).

14. This would be near Cuchillo Parado. The distance from the Conchos-Florida junction to 29° north latitude is about fifty leagues "as the crow flies;" therefore the Spaniards were not far wrong in estimating their location.

15. Espejo (*Account of the Journey to New Mexico*, 171) said that he met the Toboso Indians after the Pazaguantes. The Tobosos are not mentioned by Obregón, Luxán, and Gallegos. At a later date the Tobosos were encountered in this region.

The Jumano nation inhabited an extensive region about the confluence of the Conchos and Rio Grande. They were divided into several branches, speaking different dialects, but nevertheless related. Those bordering on the Pazaguantes on the Conchos River and extending some distance up the Rio Grande, were called Patarabueyes or Otomoacos. Those living at the Rio Grande-Conchos junction and south of it were called Abriadres. The Indians who roamed the plains northeast of the Rio Grande in quest of the buffalo were the Jumanos proper.¹⁶ Although basically their culture was no different from the Conchos' and Pazaguantes', the Jumanos were finer physical specimens, and displayed a higher degree of intelligence. Although they cultivated maize and beans to a certain extent, their principal sustenance was from game and fish.

On July 6, 1581, Captain Chamuscado and his companions arrived at the Rio Grande del Norte at a point about five leagues above the mouth of the Conchos. They had been advised by the Indians to leave the Conchos where it bends to the southeast and march overland directly north to the Rio Grande.¹⁷ They had traveled, since leaving Santa Bárbara, about seventy leagues of the most desolate, barren country, and the most difficult of the whole journey to negotiate.

The valley of the Rio Grande near the Conchos junction was called "Valle de Concepción," the river being called "La Concepción."¹⁸ Along the banks of the river they found a great number of Otomoaco Indians living in "well-constructed pueblos" of palisades and mud. These were the first fixed residences that they saw on the expedition. According to Espejo the Indians in this district

16. Gallegos, *Relación*, Obregón, *Crónica*, and Luxán, *Entrada*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; Espejo, *Account of the Journey to New Mexico*, 172. For the Jumano Indians, see F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico* (Washington, 1907), I, 636.

17. Gallegos, *Relación*, and Obregón, *Crónica*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

18. Obregón called the river by various names: "Del Norte", "Rio de Nuestra Señora", and "Rio de la Concepción". Luxán called it "El Rio Turbio." Bustamante (*Relación*, 145) called it the "Guadalquivir," but this name was not applied

numbered about ten thousand.¹⁹ The explorers were convinced that the respect and homage paid them by the Indians was due to the "miracles" of Cabeza de Vaca. That Cabeza de Vaca had passed through that land is certain, for, upon being asked if they had seen other people like the Spaniards, they answered that many years before they had seen four bearded men. These must have been Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. Espejo, the following year, was told by the same Indians about Cabeza de Vaca.²⁰

Chamuscado and his men remained in "Valle de la Concepción" only a day. When they were told about "clothed people with large pueblos, who lived far in the interior," they decided to move on immediately. Many Indians accompanied them as they marched up the river. There was not a day, it was said, when they were accompanied by less than three hundred Indians.²¹ Forty-five leagues from the Conchos, they found a considerable Otomoaco settlement. This settlement, named Magdalena, was located about ten miles south of Fort Quitman, and on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande. Magdalena marked the limits of the Jumanos up the Rio Grande, for a short distance beyond the explorers came to another tribe called Caguates or Caguases.²² The Caguates, according to Luxán, were related to the Otomoacos, and spoke almost the same language. These natives told Chamuscado that the people Indians were about a seven days' journey up the river, and The Caguates' estimation of the time necessary to traverse the barren stretch which separated them from the pueblo region proved to be much too short. Three days later the Spaniards found a vast marshland of about eight

19. Espejo, *Account of the Journey to New Mexico*, 172.

20. Obregón, *Crónica*, Gallegos, *Relación*, and Luxán, *Entrada*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; Espejo, *Account of the Journey to New Mexico*, 173.

21. Gallegos, *Relación*, (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

22. Gallegos, *Relación*, and Obregón, *Crónica*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; Espejo (*Account of the Journey to New Mexico*, 173) reported that the Jumanos extended up the Rio Grande for a twelve days' journey; Luxán (*Entrada*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22) said that after traveling four leagues from the last habitation of the Jumanos, or forty-nine leagues from the junction of the rivers, they came to the Caguates nation. Thus the Jumanos extended forty-five leagues up the Rio Grande.

leagues in extent which was formed by the river when it overflowed.²³ Although it abounded in game of all kinds, it was uninhabited. A year later Antonio de Espejo found a tribe of Indians named Tampachoas near the great marshland. That Chamuscado did not see these people may be explained by the fact, that since they were nomadic, they were probably not in that locality when Chamuscado and his companions went through.²⁴

From the marshlands, called "Valle de Valientes," the explorers continued up the river for fifteen days²⁵ without meeting any Indians. They were now about seventy leagues from the Caguates, and near the border of the pueblo region, although they did not realize this. Since they had been on the road many days longer than the Caguates had informed them would be necessary, they feared that they had been purposely misinformed. The near-exhaustion of their supplies added to their discouragement. When their spirits were lowest they were finally rewarded by finding some Indians, and, shortly after, they came to an old, uninhabited pueblo. It was a weather-beaten three-storied affair, and appeared not to have been inhabited for a long time.²⁶ Two leagues beyond, on August 21, 1581, they discovered the most southerly of the Piro pueblos of New Mexico. They had tramped, since leaving the Conchos-Rio Grande junction, 121 leagues, which were covered in forty-five days.²⁷

The first Piro pueblo, which they called San Felipe, was located in the San Marcial region,²⁸ probably on a small

23. This broad stretch of marshland begins at about Guadalupe and extends up the west side of the river to the neighborhood of El Paso.

24. Luxán, *Entrada* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22)

25. The Espejo expedition also marched over this exact distance in fifteen days.

26. Luxán mentions a ruined pueblo two leagues south of the first inhabited pueblo, San Felipe. It appears that Espejo followed substantially the same route as Chamuscado, and that neither of them crossed the Rio Grande before reaching the pueblos.

27. Gallegos, *Relación*, and Obregón, *Crónica*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

28. "The region of San Marcial not only indicates the southern limit of the pueblos of the sixteenth century, but it seems also that the many-storied type of architecture at no time extended farther down the Rio Grande Valley" (A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, Cambridge, 1892, Part 11, 252).

hill near the later site of Fort Craig. Since it was made up of about forty-five houses of two and three stories, and was located on the west bank of the river, this throws out Bandelier's conclusion that Qualacu, the most southerly Piro village on the east bank of the Rio Grande, was the San Felipe of the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition.²⁹ Nor can we conclude that Trenaquel, opposite Qualacu, and the most southerly Piro village on the west bank of the river was San Felipe. There is no mention by Gallegos of a pueblo opposite San Felipe, but two leagues above it, and opposite each other, were the pueblos of San Miguel and Santiago, which pueblos were probably Trenaquel and Qualacu respectively. San Felipe was therefore two leagues below Trenaquel (or San Miguel), and that it conceivably could be near the present Fort Craig is supported by Bandelier.³⁰

Before entering San Felipe, the Spaniards carefully examined their arms, to be prepared for any eventuality. These precautions were unnecessary, for, excepting a sick Indian, the pueblo was deserted. The Indians had abandoned their homes the night before. Although a great quantity of maize, cotton, and turkeys had been left in the pueblo, Chamuscado would not allow his men to touch anything because he desired to convince the natives that he had come with peaceful intentions. When the Indians found that their possessions had not been harmed they were reassured and came in increasing numbers to the Spaniards' camp, which had been established a short distance from San Felipe. At one time, it was said, there were over two thousand Indians in the camp. The padres took advantage of this opportunity to preach the Holy Gospel to the natives.³¹

29. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22); Hodge *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 814; Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 252. The Piro were the southernmost of the pueblo Indians. They extended from about San Marcial to Sevilleta, where they bordered the Tiguas.

30. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22). "There may possibly be some pueblo ruin a few miles south of San Marcial near Fort Craig" (Bandelier, *Final Reports*, II, 252).

31. Obregón, *Crónica*, and Gallegos, *Relación*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

After remaining four days in San Felipe, the explorers marched up the river, which was now called the Guadalquivir, and discovered many more pueblos upon its banks. The pueblos of the Piros Indians extended for twenty leagues, or as far north as Sevilleta.³² The Spaniards named and described these pueblos, but the descriptions are generally so meager as to make the assignment of their locations difficult, and often impossible. As noted above, there were two pueblos above San Felipe, situated upon opposite banks of the river and facing each other. The one north of San Felipe, and probably occupying the site of Trenaquel, was named San Miguel. It had forty-seven houses of two stories. Santiago, the Qualacu of Bandelier, was on a height of ground on the opposite (east) side of the river. It had twenty-five houses. The next pueblo discovered on the west side was San Juan, which had forty houses. Since there are no indications that there ever existed pueblos between the modern village of San Antonio and San Marcial,³³ it is probable that Senecu, located at San Antonio, and San Juan are the same pueblo. Our evidence, however, does not end here. San Juan, according to Gallegos, was located on the brow of a hill, and Senecu also was "on an eminence." In addition, whereas opposite Senecu on the other bank of the river was San Pascual,³⁴ in like manner Piastla, a pueblo of thirty-five houses, was said by Gallegos to be on the other bank of the river facing San Juan. Therefore, the location of these five pueblos is fairly certain.

As for the region between San Antonio and Alamillo, archaeological evidence, with the exception of the ruins

32. According to Obregón, the Province of San Felipe (the Piros,) was twenty leagues long and six leagues wide, and was made up of twelve pueblos of 250 houses. Gallegos stated that there were "twenty and more pueblos." "In 1630, Sevilleta, twenty miles north of Socorro, was the most northerly of the Piros pueblos" (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 515); "Certainly the Piros did not extend north of Los Lentos (near Sevilleta)" (Bandelier, "An Outline of the Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribes," in *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, 1892, III, 61).

33. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 251.

34. *Ibid.*, 247, 250.

of Socorro, is very scant.³⁵ The first group of pueblos, as has been demonstrated, extended as far north as Senecu and San Pascual. Five leagues to the north, according to Luxán, were four large, and one small, uninhabited pueblos. This was undoubtedly the Socorro district where there are many ruins. Luxán mentions next two pueblos three leagues farther up the river. These two pueblos, as I shall soon show, were the ones named by Gallegos, El Oso and La Pedrosa, and were located at Alamillo. Two more pueblos mentioned by Gallegos, Piña, with eighty-five houses, and Elota, with fourteen houses, and located between Senecu and Alamillo, remain to be accounted for. Our most natural surmise, based upon archaeological evidence, is that they were located in the Socorro district.

We now come to the northern border of the Piros. The next pueblos discovered and named by Chamuscado were El Oso and La Pedrosa; the former with fifty houses, the latter with fourteen.³⁶ El Oso was situated on a high hill, and was only "dos tiros de arcabus" distant from La Pedrosa. Evidence regarding the site of Alamillo, "situated a few miles south of La Joya, on a bluff not far from the banks of the Rio Grande,"³⁷ points to Alamillo and El Oso being the same pueblo. Between Alamillo and the Tigua nation, Chamuscado passed two more small pueblos, Pueblo Nuevo of twenty houses, and Ponsitlan of twenty-five houses. Both of these pueblos were upon the east bank of the river, and one of them can probably be identified with Sevilleta, which, in 1630, was the most northerly of the Piro villages.³⁸

The pueblos of the Piros were two and three storied structures of adobe and stone. They were well constructed with windows, corridors, and courts. The walls were white-washed and were generally ornamented with paintings of

35. Bandelier (Ibid., 241) says that the Christian pueblo of Nuestra Señora del Socorro, founded in 1628, was founded on the site of the sixteenth century pueblo Pil-o-Pue.

36. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

37. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 239.

38. Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribes*, III, 61.

animals and people. The clay dishes, jars, and vases of these natives particularly impressed the Spaniards, for they said that they were more artistically made than those of the ancient Aztecs. Their clothing was of cotton cloth, although some chamois and deer-skins were worn. They wore sandals made of buffalo-hides. Near the pueblos were extensive fields where they cultivated maize, beans, calabashes, and cotton.³⁹

Chamuscado and his companions next entered the lands of the Tigua nation. The first pueblo discovered was Caxtole (fifteen houses) located upon the east bank of the river fronting a large pueblo of one hundred houses, named Piguina-Quatengo. The latter pueblo has been identified with the Tigua pueblo of San Clemente, located on the present site of Los Lunas, and the only Tigua ruin discovered south of Isleta.⁴⁰ Above Caxtole they discovered Mexicaltingo, a pueblo of forty houses; and next, Tomatlan, a large pueblo of 170 houses. This was undoubtedly the large pueblo of 250 houses mentioned by Luxán, which, he says, was six leagues below the Puaray pueblo group. Fronting Tomatlan, on the west bank of the river, was another large pueblo of 123 houses. This pueblo, named Taxomulco, was probably Isleta, which now stands on the old site.⁴¹ Between Isleta and the Puaray group no pueblos were discovered by Chamuscado. Espejo, however, found a pueblo named Los Guajolotes in this district. Since the only ruins now existing between Albuquerque and Isleta are those of Pur-e-Tu-ay, on the Mesa de los Padillas,⁴² a few miles north of Isleta, this must have been the site of Los Guajolotes. I have now accounted for six pueblos in the Isleta district, and find with considerable

39. Gallegos, *Relación*, and Obregón, *Crónica*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. No attempt is made in this paper to describe the native culture of New Mexico.

40. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 233; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 623; Luxán, *Entrada* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

41. "According to Lummis it stands on the old site" (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 622).

42. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 232.

pleasure that Bandelier inferred that this southern group of Tigua settlements consisted of at least six pueblos.

About six leagues above Isleta, Chamuscado entered the most densely populated district of the Tiguas. So close were the pueblos to each other that the Spaniards passed twelve in one day. Luxán recorded that there were thirteen pueblos in this group, and Castaño de Sosa recorded that he saw at one time fourteen pueblos, and some of them were only a quarter of a league apart.⁴³ The first pueblo of this group which Gallegos mentions was Santa Catalina on the west bank of the river. In 1681 Alameda was on the west bank, about eight leagues north of Isleta. In all probability Santa Catalina and Alameda were the same.⁴⁴ There is a ruin on the east bank which Bandelier erroneously located as Alameda. This ruin is on the site of Puaray as located in 1680, which was then one league above Alameda on the opposite bank of the river.⁴⁵ The San Mateo (fifty houses) of Gallegos, which was on the east bank opposite Santa Catalina, was the Puaray of 1680. Immediately north of San Mateo was a large pueblo of 120 houses. It was named Puaray by Gallegos, but was probably the pueblo of Sandía, which was one league above the Puaray of 1680.⁴⁶ Across the river, according to Gallegos, was a pueblo of sixty-two houses, named San Pedro. On the opposite bank from Bernalillo are many pueblo ruins so to this district can be ascribed the pueblos of Cempoalla, Añalco, Culiacán, Villarassa, and La Palma. They had 84, 84, 100, and 134 houses, respectively. The explorers discovered more pueblos on the east bank above Puaray, but since no Tigua ruins are known to exist north of Bernalillo, I conclude that these pueblos were located between

43. Gallegos, *Relación*, Obregón, *Crónica*, and Luxán, *Entrada*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; Dorothy Hull, "Castaño de Sosa's Expedition to New Mexico in 1590," in *Old Santa Fé*, III, 330.

44. C. W. Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía, 1680-1681," in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 383.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

Sandía (Puaray) and Bernalillo.⁴⁷ They were Nompe, Malpais, and Cáceres, having 77, 123, and 145 houses respectively. These pueblos, I am inclined to believe, were located very near each other on the site of Bernalillo. According to Bandelier, "There stood one pueblo, perhaps two, on the site of Bernalillo in the sixteenth century."⁴⁸

The Chamuscado expedition arrived in Cáceres, on the northern Tigua frontier, on September 2, 1581. The Tigua pueblos were described by Gallegos as being larger, higher, and better built than those of the Piros. The people although they spoke a different language, wore the same kind of clothes, and were accustomed to the same modes of living. Likewise, like the Piros, they received the Spaniards very kindly, and gave them supplies of food-stuffs.

Six leagues north of the Tiguas of Bernalillo were the Queres, who, according to Obregón, inhabited five pueblos. There is agreement with Bandelier here, for he says, "The Queres inhabited five pueblos; three on the Rio Grande: Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe, and two in the Jémez Valley: Cía and Santa Ana." All the pueblos discovered by Chamuscado have been identified with these five.⁴⁹ After leaving Cáceres, the Chamuscado party went up the river to the first Queres pueblo, Campos. This pueblo, which had seventy houses, was on the east bank of the Rio Grande, and was undoubtedly the Santo Domingo of Castaño de Sosa, and the Ji-py-y of Juan de Oñate. It stood nearly on the site of the present village of Santo Domingo. Fronting Campos, on the other bank of the river, was a pueblo of seventy houses named Palomares. Across the river from Santo Domingo, near Cubero, are the pueblo ruins of Kat-isht-ya, or the first San Felipe.⁵⁰ This was the probable site of Palomares. The third Queres

47. "The ruins on the east bank of the river are the following: the burned pueblo of Bernalillo, a ruin near Sandía, one near Los Corrales south of Bernalillo, and the old pueblo of Alameda midway between Bernalillo and Albuquerque," (Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 230).

48. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 222; Gallegos, *Relación*, (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

49. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 139, 146.

50. *Ibid.*, 188.

pueblo on the Rio Grande to be visited by the Chamuscado party was Medina de la Torre, situated on or near the site of Cochití, which site it has certainly occupied since the sixteenth century.⁵¹ This pueblo was very large, for it had 230 houses. Since we know that it was on the west bank of the river, we can be doubly certain that it was Cochití, for there was no other large pueblo on that side of the river between San Felipe and Santa Clara.⁵²

The explorers did not visit the Queres pueblos in the Jémez Valley until later. They now made their first journey away from the river. Near Medina de la Torre the Santa Fé rivulet emptied into the Rio Grande. The Spaniards marched up the valley of this stream until they came to four pueblos, Guaxitlan (seventy-six houses), Guarda, (one hundred houses), Valladolid (two hundred houses), and La Rinconada, (sixty houses). These pueblos which were discovered on September 6, 1581, may very conceivably be some of the ruins which line the banks of the Santa Fé River. The most important of these is Tze-nat-ay, opposite the little settlement of La Bajada.⁵³ Since Coronado did not visit this valley, Chamuscado and his followers were the first Europeans to come near the present site of Santa Fé.

From the Santa Fé region they went a short distance to the south to the pueblo of Malpartida in the Galisteo valley. Here Father Juan de Santa María announced his intention to return to Mexico to render a report of all that had been done.⁵⁴ His determination met with bitter op-

51. *Ibid.*

52. Luxán mentions "Zashiti" as a large pueblo of three-storied houses which they visited four leagues above Puaray.

53. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 95-6.

54. "Arriving at Galisteo, and seeing the docility of the Indians, the three friars (having been deserted by the soldiers) agreed that one of them should return to inform the prelates what had been seen, and to ask for more priests. Father Juan de Santa María offered himself for the journey" (Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmerón, "Relación de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han vista y sabido así por mar como por tierra desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626," in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d. Ser. IV. Mexico. 1856. Translated by C. F. Lummis, *Land of Sunshine*, XI, 340). Zárate-Salmerón is in error on two points: (1) Santa María did not depart from Galisteo, and (2) He did not leave after the departure of the soldiers nor with the permission of his friar-companions.

position from his brother friars and the soldiers. They argued that it would be both foolhardy and dangerous for him to go alone, and that his murder by the Indians would occasion serious consequences for them because it would destroy the Indians' belief in the Spaniards' immortality. They also declared that his report would be valueless because they had hardly commenced to explore those lands. Notwithstanding the objections of his companions, Father Santa María persisted in his determination, and, unaccompanied, set out on the long journey back to Mexico. To protect himself and his companions from unjust accusation, Captain Chamuscado ordered Hernan Gallegos, the scribe, to prepare an affidavit setting forth the circumstances of the padre's departure. This was done, September 10, 1581, and the document which was found by the writer in the Archivo de Indias is indisputable evidence that Father Santa María left his companions against their will, and at a time long prior to the return of the soldiers to Nueva Vizcaya.⁵⁵

It was Father Santa María's intention to find a new and more direct route to Mexico. He purposed to keep to the east of the Manzano Mountains by way of the salines, and from there to go due south to the Rio Grande.⁵⁶ But on the third day after his departure the unfortunate padre was killed by the Indians. The probable location of his martyrdom was in the vicinity of the copper camp of San Pedro.⁵⁷ The Chamuscado party did not hear about Father Santa María's death until some time later when they were returning from the buffalo country. The pueblo from

55. (Affidavit), San Felipe, New Mexico, September 10, 1581 (A. G. I., 58-3-9). For a translation of this document, see J. L. Mecham, "Supplementary Documents Relating to the Chamuscado-Rodríguez Expedition," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX, 224-231.

56. "He was a great astrologer (astronomer?) and traced out land to show how they might have traveled shorter" (Zárate-Salmerón, *Relación de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico*, XI, 340).

57. *Ibid.*, 341. The circumstances of Santa María's death are the subject of controversy; for a discussion, see J. L. Mecham, "The Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa María," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, VI, No. 3.

which Santa María departed was called by Gallegos, "Malpartida."

After the departure of Father Santa María, the Spaniards continued their exploration up the river to the Tewas, who lived north of the Queres.⁵⁸ The first pueblo discovered was located near an arroyo with water in it on the east bank of the Rio Grande, and it had about forty houses. Gallegos didn't name it, but it was undoubtedly San Ildefonso.⁵⁹ In the Cañada de Santa Cruz, a short distance above San Ildefonso, there are ruins of both historic and prehistoric pueblos.⁶⁰ The Chamuscado party failed to discover these pueblos, or at least Gallegos failed to mention them; the next pueblo named by him was Castilla de Avid. It had two hundred houses and was located on the present site of San Juan opposite the mouth of the Chama River. North of Castilla de Avid were two more pueblos, Suchipila, with ninety houses, and Talaban with eighty houses. One of them was perhaps Picuries,⁶¹ which with Taos, belonged to the northern group of the Tiguas.

The explorers now left the Rio Grande and went to Taos, or Nueva Tlascala, as it was called. There can be no mistaking of this pueblo, for it was the largest in this region. According to both Gallegos and Bustamante it had about five hundred houses. Although the Indians of Taos told the Spaniards about larger Indian settlements ten days to the north (which were mythical), they decided to go no farther, but returned to Castilla de Avid. There they crossed the river and explored the Chamita Valley,⁶²

58. "The Tewa group of pueblo tribes belong to the Tanoan linguistic family, and now occupy San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Nambé, Tesuque, and Hano" (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 737).

59. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 82.

60. *Ibid.*, 83; J. P. Harrington, "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," in *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1907-1908, Map No. 28, p. 301; Hull, *Castaño de Sosa*, 325.

61. See map in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 212. Mr. Bloom advises me that Picuries was probably too far back from the Rio Grande to be identified with Suchipila or Talaban, and that these two pueblos were more probably in the Rio Grande valley to the north of San Juan, where there are a number of archaeological sites.

62. See Harrington, *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*, Maps 10 and 11.

where were discovered three pueblos. The first, Castilla Blanca, was located at the mouth of the valley, and on the north bank of the Chama River fronting Castilla de Avid. This pueblo, which had two hundred houses, can be identified with Chamita or Yuque Yunque.⁶³ Farther up the valley they discovered the pueblo of Buena Vista (two hundred houses), and La Barranca (seventy houses). There are several important archaeological sites up the Chama valley, one of which was excavated by Jeançon in 1919.

The explorers returned to the Rio Grande and marched south to the mouth of the Galisteo River. Having been told that the buffalo could be found about thirty leagues east of the river, they determined to go in search of them. Five leagues up the Galisteo Valley, called San Mateo, they found four pueblos: Malpartida (100 houses), Malagón (80 houses), Piedrahita (300 houses), and Galisteo (140 houses). That there existed in the sixteenth century a group of pueblos in the Galisteo basin, is supported by archaeological evidence⁶⁴ and by the records of early explorers such as Castañeda's account of the Coronado expedition, and Castaño de Sosa's *Memoria*. Castañeda said that in going from the pueblo of Pecos westward to the Rio Grande they found three pueblos. One was unnamed, and the other two were called, Ximena, and Los Silos.⁶⁵ Castaño de Sosa, after leaving the Queres, went to a dis-

63. "At Yukiwingge was established in 1598, by Juan de Oñate, the colonizer of New Mexico, the settlement of San Gabriel de los Españoles" (Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 1528-1543. New York, 1907, 340). The Martinez Map (Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 212) shows that Chama was on the north bank of the Chama River, whereas San Gabriel was on the south bank. This may show that Bandelier, Hodge and Lewis, Harrington, and others were in error in assigning the site of San Gabriel as that of Chamita. Mr. Lansing Bloom, however, is of the opinion that, since space on the Martinez map was so limited, the cartographer, to show two places which were close together, placed San Gabriel incorrectly, to the south of the confluence. He states that no archaeological sites south of the confluence have ever been identified.

64. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 100-107; Harrington, *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*, 480-488. For a description of the ruins, see N. C. Nelson, "Pueblo Ruins in the Galisteo Basin, New Mexico," in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, New York, 1914, XV, 103.

65. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers*, 356.

strict where there were four pueblos all in sight of one another. Three of these named San Marcos, San Lucas, and San Cristóbal, have been identified with ruins around Galisteo.⁶⁶ In 1630, Father Benavides reported that there were five Tano pueblos. These have been identified with the Galisteo group.⁶⁷

With the above information, it now remains to identify the Galisteo pueblos discovered by Chamuscado. Since Piedrahita was on the border of the buffalo country, I therefore conclude this pueblo to be San Cristóbal which was the easternmost pueblo of the Galisteo basin. Piedrahita also was "built of stone," whereas a distinguishing feature of the San Cristóbal ruins is the rock enclosure,⁶⁸ San Marcos, four miles northeast of Cerrillos,⁶⁹ was the first pueblo mentioned by Castaño when he entered this region, and can therefore be identified with Malpartida, which seems likewise to have been the first pueblo of the group discovered by the Chamuscado expedition. The next pueblo mentioned by Gallegos was Malagón, a small pueblo, near Malpartida. San Lázaro, twelve miles southwest of Lamy, is a small pueblo ruin.⁷⁰ and since it is near San Marcos, it is probable that San Lázaro and Malagón were the same. Galisteo remains to be identified, and since of the known historic sites, only one, Galisteo, remains unassigned, obviously then Chamuscado's Galisteo should be located at this place. The fact that the names are the same gives weight to this conclusion.

On September 28, the explorers departed from the pueblo of Piedrahita for the buffalo country. They were

66. Hull, *Castaño de Sosa*, 327; Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 101; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I, 296.

67. "In addition to the three historical pueblos of Galisteo, San Cristóbal, and San Lorenzo, the other two pueblos were San Marcos and Ciénega To sum up the situation: (1) San Marcos, and perhaps the village of Ciénega, as well, were pueblos founded after Coronado's visit, but some time before Castaño's arrival; (2) the two Galisteo pueblos, San Lucas (Galisteo), and San Cristóbal, had been rehabilitated since 1541" (Nelson, *Galisteo Ruins*, 26).

68. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22); Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 104.

69. Harrington, *The Ethnology of the Tewa Indians*, 552.

70. Nelson, *Galisteo Ruins*, 98.

told that the herds were but two days away. In fact, the Indians said that at certain times of the year, the buffalo came within eight leagues of the pueblos.⁷¹ This led them to expect a short easy journey. They skirted the northern edge of the table-land between Galisteo and the Pecos River, but, since they were looking for a pass through the mountains, they remained in the plains country and did not cross the hills separating them from the Pecos Valley. Finally, on October 3, the fifth day out, they discovered the Pecos River near the present Anton Chico. They named the river "El Rio de Santo Domingo," and it was described as being large and beautiful.

Four leagues down the Pecos they found a large ranchería of Indians, the first seen by them since leaving Piedrahita. These Indians, to the number of four hundred warriors, threatened the Spaniards, but Father Rodríguez was able to assure them of his peaceful mission. The inhabitants of the ranchería were Querechos, a naked nomadic people, whose food consisted mostly of raw buffalo meat. The explorers were interested in the Indians' dogs that were equipped with pack-saddles on which they carried loads of fifty to seventy-five pounds for three or four leagues a day. The buffalo, they told the Spaniards, were two days away, and were "as numerous as grass in the fields or sand in the rivers."⁷²

Leaving the Pecos at their backs, they traveled in an easterly direction until, on October 10, 1581, they discovered great herds of buffalo. They had covered, since leaving Piedrahita,, about forty leagues, but since they had been marching in a circuitous way, it was hardly more than twenty leagues to the pueblos.⁷³

The explorers killed a number of the buffalo, and so great was their skill with their firearms that their Querecho

71. Obregón, *Crónica*, and Gallegos, *Relación*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

72. *Ibid.*

73. Bustamante, *Declaration*, 148; Gallegos, *Relación*, and Obregón, *Crónica*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. The "Valle de San Francisco," where Chamuscado found the buffalo, was formed by one of the upper sources of the Canadian River.

guide was filled with amazement. Laden with buffalo-meat, they returned to the Querecho ranchería. Then, by their old trail, they returned to the pueblo of Galisteo.

Since their supplies were near exhaustion they asked aid of the inhabitants of Piedrahita. They were inclined to refuse, but when the soldiers discharged their guns in the air, the Indians complied with alacrity. However, since they knew that the Spaniards were not supernatural beings, for they had heard about the death of Father Santa María, they secretly plotted against them. They began to put their evil designs into effect by killing some of the horses. This act so angered the soldiers that they determined to punish the culprits so that others would be deterred from any additional acts of violence. Although the Indians were said to number over a thousand, the soldiers attacked the pueblo of Malagón and captured three Indians. Chamuscado then pretended to condemn them to public decapitation. At the psychological moment the padres interfered and rescued the captives. This act won the friendship and confidence of all the natives.⁷⁴

From Galisteo the explorers returned to the Rio Grande and then went to the Jemez Valley. Five leagues up the valley, called "Valle de Santiago," they discovered two pueblos: Puertofrio, which had three hundred houses, and Baños, with one hundred houses. These pueblos were probably located near the present Santa Ana and Cía,⁷⁵ since these two were the only important pueblos in the lower Jemez Valley.⁷⁶ It is impossible, however, to distinguish between these two pueblos, although I am inclined to believe that Baños and Cía were the same.

While at Puaray the Spaniards heard that about thirty-five leagues to the west were many settlements and mines. To verify these reports they left the Rio Grande

74. Obregón, *Crónica* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

75. Santa Ana is situated about five miles up the Jemez River on the north bank. Cía is eight miles northwest of Santa Ana and also on the north bank of the Jemez.

76. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 196.

pueblos and marched for two days in a westerly direction until they came to the pueblo of Ácoma. It was described by Gallegos as having five hundred houses and occupying the best fortified position in Christendom. Bandelier's emphatic statement that "Chamuscado certainly went to Zuñi but did not visit Ácoma"⁷⁷ is thus disproven. From Ácoma they went to Zuñi, and since it is known that they passed El Morro, or Inscription Rock, where Chamuscado and seven soldiers inscribed their names,⁷⁸ we can be fairly certain that their trail from Ácoma to Zuñi passed by the famous Inscription Rock, to the headwaters of the Zuñi River at Pescado. We have documentary evidence that such a trail existed as early as 1540.

In Zuñi, located about seventy-five miles west of Ácoma, Chamuscado discovered six pueblos. According to Gallegos they were named: Aquima, Maca, Aconagua, Allico, and Acana. They had seventy-five, one hundred, forty-five, sixty, one hundred eighteen, and forty houses, respectively. This is our first list of the villages of Cíbola with their original names, notwithstanding Bandelier's assertion that Oñate gave us the first list. Since Luxán also gives the native names for the pueblos, Oñate was not the first but the third.⁷⁹ Maca was the most northeasterly of the Zuñi pueblos. It was located at the foot of the northeast corner of Thunder Mountain in the Zuñi Valley. Allico was the most southwesterly pueblo of the group, for it was from this pueblo (Agrisco) that the Espejo party left to go to Moqui. This pueblo was also the first one (Aguicobi) discovered by Coronado who approached from the west, and it was mentioned as the largest. It was the largest Zuñi pueblo seen by Chamuscado, having 118 houses. It was

77. *Ibid.*, 331.

78. "In 1888 Mr. Cushing discovered the names on the rock" (*Ibid.*, 33).

79. Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribes*, III, 84-85; "In 1598 Oñate named the pueblos, Aguicobi, Canabi, Coaqueria, Halonagu, Macaqui, and Aquinsa" (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 1017); "There are six pueblos named Maleque, Cuaquema, Agrisco, Olona, Cuaguima, and Cana" (Luxán, *Entrada*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22). See Fewkes, *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, I, 95, for map of the Zuñi Valley.

on the south side of the Zuñi River, about fifteen miles southeast of Maca. The other pueblos were located between Maca and Allico. Aconagua (the Halonagu of Oñate) was but a short distance south of the present site of the pueblo of Zuñi. Aquima (Pinana) was also a short distance west-southwest of Aconagua. Coaguima (Kia-Kima) was situated at the foot of the southwest corner of Thunder Mountain. Here tradition says the negro Estévan was killed in 1539. One more pueblo, Acàna (Canabi) remains to be accounted for. It was probably located two miles east of Allico on the Ojo Caliente.⁸⁰

While at Zuñi the explorers were told that at a two days' journey to the west was the Moqui settlement with five large pueblos. They were not able to visit Moqui because of a heavy snowfall. The return to the Tigua pueblo of Puaray on the Rio Grande was made over the same trail which they had taken in going to Ácoma and Zuñi.

After the return from Zuñi, another side trip was made east of the Rio Grande. On this occasion they explored the saline country east of the Manzano Mountains. Which route they took in going from Puaray to the salines is not known, but it is presumed that they passed through the mountains by way of the San Pedro Valley. Near the salines, about fourteen leagues east of the mountains, they found several pueblos. Gallegos names five of these: Zacatula (125 houses), Ruiseco, (200 houses), La Mesa (90 houses), La Joyal (95 houses), and Francavilla, (65 houses). The salt lakes proper and the plains to the north of them as far as Galisteo, are today without vestiges of human occupation. But to the northwest near Chililí, on the west side of the creek by the same name, there is a pueblo ruin which seems to be the most northerly of this group of pueblos. Between Chililí and Tajique, which is fifteen miles to the south, there are no ruins. Likewise, between

80. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 336-338; *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribes*, III, 35-37; Luxán, *Entrada*, and Gallegos, *Relación*, in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

Tajique and Manzanos, the country is barren of pueblo remains. Both at and around Manzano, however, there are many pueblo ruins one of the most important being Cuar-ay (quarai) six miles east of Manzano and on the southwestern edge of the salt lakes. I conclude, therefore, that the five pueblos named by Gallegos must have been the Tigua pueblos located between Chililí and Manzano.⁸¹ The explorers heard about three other larger pueblos farther from the salines. These pueblos must have been Abó, Tenabó, and Tabirá. They were not able to visit them because of the snow, and for that reason returned by the same route to Puaray.⁸²

It was now over six months since the explorers had left Santa Bárbara. Notwithstanding their paucity of numbers, they had been eminently successful in exploring not only the entire pueblo region on the upper Rio Grande, but also as far west as Zuñi and as far east as the Canadian River. A thorough reconnaissance having been made, it was felt that an immediate return should be made to render a report to the viceroy. The two friars, Rodríguez and López, stated their intention of remaining among the Indians. Realizing the great dangers the padres courted, the soldiers argued that it was not only dangerous for the religious themselves to remain, but, in the event of their death, it would be doubly difficult for other missionaries to enter that land. Their arguments were without avail for the friars persisted in their intention to remain. Another affidavit similar to the one prepared by Gallegos after the departure of Father Santa María was drawn up by the scribe, setting forth their unsuccessful efforts to induce the friars to return to Mexico with them.⁸³

Since he was not able to shake the friars from their

81. Escalante and Barrado, *Brief and True Account*, 157; Gallegos, *Relación*, (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22); Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 258-260.

82. *Ibid.*, 268; Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

83. (Affidavit), Province of San Felipe, February 13, 1582 (A. G. I., 58-3-9). For a translation of this document, see J. L. Mecham, *Supplementary Documents Relating to the Chamuscado-Rodríguez Expedition*, 224-231.

purpose, Chamuscado did all in his power to make their stay as safe and comfortable as possible. The Indians were told that the soldiers were leaving to bring back more Christians, and the Indians were asked to care for the padres during their absence. The soldiers also left the friars most of their own supplies, and a few of the Indian servants who had accompanied them from Mexico. After promising to exercise all possible haste in returning to Mexico and in sending back help, they left Puaray on January 31, 1582.

The fate of the two Franciscans remained unknown to the soldiers until after their return to Mexico. About three months after their arrival in Santa Bárbara there appeared at that place two of the Indian servants, Francisco and Gerónimo, who had remained in New Mexico with the padres. Their story is the only authentic information we have regarding the martyrdom of Fathers Rodríguez and López. They said that shortly after the departure of the soldiers, the Indians of Puaray killed Father López. Francisco and Gerónimo, being frightened, ran away, and while they were running they heard outcries in the pueblo and from this they judged that the Indians had attacked Father Agustín.⁸⁴

From Puaray Chamuscado and his eight soldier-companions returned to Santa Bárbara by the same route over which they had entered the pueblo region. On the return trip they stopped now and then to prospect for minerals in the mountains near the Rio Grande. Throughout the expedition they had always been on the lookout for "prospects," thereby betraying their personal, material interest in the expedition. Some of the more noteworthy "finds"

84. Barrado, *Declaration*, 151-3; Report of the Viceroy, 159. Obregón laconically states that the Indians killed the padres because they coveted the supplies the soldiers had left them. Zárate-Salmerón (*Relación de Nuevo Mexico*, XI, 341), gives details concerning the deaths of the padres; he says, "Father López was killed a little distance from the pueblo (Puaray) with two blows of a war-club. Father Rodríguez was taken to Santiago one and one-half leagues up the river, but was killed also, and his body cast in the river." Since Zárate-Salmerón's account is replete with error, we must regard this story as hearsay.

were: (1) One in the San Mateo Mountains south of San Felipe; (2) one near the pueblo of Malpartida in the Cerrillos district; (3) the mine of Santa Catalina, five leagues southwest of Malpartida in the Manzano Mountains. Escalante and Barrado testified that they discovered good mineral prospects. Specimens were taken to Mexico City where they were assayed, and some were found to be worth thirty-six marks per quintal.⁸⁵

Captain Chamuscado, because of the hardships of the journey and his advanced years, for he was near seventy years of age, became very ill when the explorers were below El Paso. He was bled with difficulty because all of the surgical instruments had been left with the missionaries. Thereafter the soldiers had to proceed slowly to give their captain an opportunity to regain his strength. But he declined slowly, and since he was too weak to ride a horse, a litter was made to be carried between two horses. Since even their axes had been left with the padres, they were compelled to use their swords to cut poles, and to obtain leather they were forced to kill a horse. Their desire to reach Santa Bárbara where the last sacrament could be administered to the sick captain was not fulfilled, for, when they were about forty leagues away, Chamuscado died. They buried him as best they were able, and marked the spot in order that if ever opportunity afforded, his body might be removed to Santa Bárbara. The Espejo party discovered the cross marking the grave two leagues below the junction of the San Pedro and Conchos Rivers.⁸⁶ The eight soldiers, with Hernan Gallegos in command, arrived in Santa Bárbara on April 15, 1582, after an absence of nearly eleven months.

The explorers were joyfully received by the *vecinos* of Santa Bárbara, for, because of their long absence, they were thought to be lost. Although New Mexico had been explored by virtue of a viceregal commission, and there-

85. Escalante and Barrado, *Brief and True Account*, 157; Gallegos to the King, March 14, (A. G. I., 66-5-16).

86. Luxán, *Entrada* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22).

fore was regarded as being under the direct jurisdiction of the viceroy, the alcalde of Santa Bárbara pretended to claim the new lands for Diego de Ibarra, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. He ordered Hernan Gallegos to surrender all of his papers, and, seeing that resistance was useless, Gallegos agreed to do so the following day. Early in the morning, however, he left Santa Bárbara secretly, with his papers and two companions. The other soldiers remained in Santa Bárbara, "to prevent any person from entering the newly-discovered region until the viceroy had acted on the matter."⁸⁷ They arrived in Mexico City on May 8, 1582. There they saw the viceroy and gave complete reports of the expedition. They also exhibited such specimens of the new lands as cotton-cloth, buffalo-hides, minerals, wicker baskets, and earthenware. Hernan Gallegos returned to Spain soon after, and, in Madrid, on March 30, 1583, he petitioned the crown for a capitulation "similar to that granted Francisco de Ibarra" to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. Of course his petition was not granted, but nevertheless we must add the name of Hernan Gallegos to the list of applicants for the grant to conquer New Mexico.⁸⁸

"Only nine men dared to enter that land and accomplished what five hundred men were unable to do," wrote Gallegos. Although it is certain that the immediate achievements of Chamuscado did not equal those of Coronado, nevertheless it is true that the smaller expedition was attended by far greater consequences. Coronado's enterprise resulted in vague, hazy rumors of an almost forgotten land; Chamuscado's entrada was the immediate occasion of Espejo's expedition, which in turn culminated in Oñate's colonization of New Mexico. In the Chamuscado expedition of 1581-1582, we witness the first steps in the founding of Spanish New Mexico.

87. Gallegos, *Relación* (A. G. I., 1-1-3/22)

88. Hernan Gallegos to the King, Madrid, March 30, 1583 (A. G. I., 66-5-16). For a list of the applicants, see G. P. Hammond, "Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico" in *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 51-53.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO

(continued)

Chapter V.

The Final Inspection

The Religious Motive of the Expedition. On the completion of the inspection conducted by Ulloa and Esquivel early in 1597, satisfactory though it was, the soldiers in the army could do nothing save wait for good news from the king. And though a favorable decision was soon made the summer of 1597 waned before the report could be carried to the frontier of Nueva Vizcaya.

In the meantime it is necessary to follow another and very important phase of the conquest of New Mexico, the story of the missionaries. The religious object of conquering expeditions was always a leading motive in their organization.²⁶⁹ The Spanish monarchs were not only interested in reaping a great harvest of gold and silver; they also wanted to save souls. Thus friars invariably accompanied the military tours to preach the gospel and to baptize the willing natives. Oñate's expedition was no exception. Practically every appeal which he or his friends made to the king pretended that the proposed conquest was undertaken solely for the conversion of the natives.²⁷⁰ When Oñate received the news of the order of suspension he bemoaned the success of the devil to prevent and delay that which was to have been done by this expedition for a multitude of souls — who are under his dominion but who are longing

269. See Merriman, R. B. *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, III, 621-2, 631 and 652, regarding missionary activity and the search for riches.

270. Oñate to the king, December 16, 1596 A. G. I., 58--3-15; Oñate's petition and contract, September 21, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227; order of the king, March 4, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

for the bread of the divine gospel — by bringing them to the knowledge of our sacred faith.²⁷¹

The reason for placing so much emphasis on this point was that expeditions for the discovery and conquest of new regions could only be carried out under the guise of religious conquests. The New Laws of 1542-1543, better known for the attempt to check the encomienda system, prohibited the former marauding campaigns which had wiped out thousands of Indians, thereby arousing eternal hostility in the hearts of the survivors against the Spaniards. These laws attempted to regulate some of the worst features of the Spanish colonial system, and though they were not immediately successful it was a step forward. The crown definitely laid down the policy that our chief intention and will has always been and is the preservation and increase of the Indians, and that they be instructed and taught in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and be well treated as free persons and our vassals, as they are.²⁷²

The Council of the Indies was charged with the duty of continually guarding the welfare of the natives. One or two missionaries must accompany every expedition to care for their spiritual welfare. No excesses would be tolerated either by governors or by private persons. Moreover discoverers could not bring away Indians from their province except three or four interpreters. The penalty for violation of the law was death.²⁷³

Additional regulations of a like nature were provided in 1573, but with particular reference to new discoveries. The religious purpose of new pacifications, for the word "conquests" should not be used, was again stressed and the missionaries were to be given preference in pacifying new lands, if there were any priests who desired to go.²⁷⁴

The First Band of Franciscans. The redemption of

271. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 353; cf. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in *ibid.*, 373.

272. Stevens, Henry and Lucas, Fred W., *The New Laws of the Indies*, VII.

273. *Ibid.*, XVIII.

274. "Ordenances de su Magestad, . . . 1573," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 151-152.

souls was thus a prominent end to be achieved by the conquest undertaken by Oñate. Consequently as soon as the early controversy over the limitation of the contract had been settled he asked Father Pila, Franciscan commissary-general of New Spain, for missionaries. The latter responded by naming Fray Rodrigo Durán apostolic-commissary of the band, which was to consist of five friars and one lay brother, according to Oñate's contract. In the group were Fray Baltasar, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, Oñate's cousin, characterized as "eminent in letters," Fray Diego Márquez, the representative of the Inquisition, called "the good" by Villagrà,²⁷⁵ and Fray Francisco de San Miguel.²⁷⁶ They were on the point of leaving Mexico for Zacatecas on May 11, 1596,²⁷⁷ while preparations for an early departure for New Mexico were rapidly being concluded by the army.

Dispute over Jurisdiction. The appointment of these Franciscans was the occasion for a dispute between the church and the regular clergy in regard to jurisdiction over New Mexico.²⁷⁸ The bishop of Guadalajara in this case insisted that the province was within the confines of his bishopric and that he could exclude all friars pretending to administer the sacraments. Monterey feared that some serious scandal might result if both parties, independent of one another, were allowed to send laborers into the new field. The old rivalry of the secular forces would break out and the salvation of souls be forgotten. For that reason he submitted the question to theologians and to the audiencia for their opinion.²⁷⁹ There is nothing to indicate that the bishop's demands were granted. It is likely that he became less enthusiastic when the region failed to bring forth the wealth in minerals which had been expected. For

275. Villagrà, *Historia*, I. 34; cf. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 671.

276. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 1, 1598, A. G. I., 58-8-13.

277. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, May 11, 1596, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

278. The jealousy of the church and the orders was very bitter in the Indies. Tithes, tribute and the right of administering the sacraments being the chief causes of conflict. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 663-674.

279. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, May 11, 1596.

many years New Mexico was to remain a missionary field of the Franciscan Order.²⁸⁰

Recall of Fray Márquez. In regard to the good Fray Márquez some further trouble arose. Monterey was very much displeased that he had been named the agent of the Inquisition, which had been done without his knowledge. In the first place Márquez had been born in New Spain and was an intimate friend of Oñate, and in the second place Monterey questioned the right of the Inquisition to extend its authority over the province.²⁸¹ He therefore warned the Holy Office that its claim could probably not be maintained, at least not without a special order. The two objections were effectively argued with the result that the Inquisition agreed to permit his recall and to refrain from naming another in his place. There were of course, but comparatively few Spaniards in Oñate's army, and as the activity of the tribunal could not be extended to the Indians it was evident that there would be little need for Márquez's presence.²⁸² Monterey explained the situation to the commissary-general, who required Márquez to return to Mexico. He took leave of the army in 1598. Oñate was loath to see him go, and in view of the close relations between them his feelings can readily be appreciated.²⁸³

Father Durán Withdraws. It was while these events were in the initial stage that Oñate received the royal cédula suspending his enterprise, in which state it was to remain a whole year without any sign of relief. Fray Durán became thoroughly discouraged and determined to return to Mexico. The disappointed governor begged him to remain but his requests were of no avail. The friar departed with some of his companions, leaving Father San Miguel

280. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 177-178; see the famous Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630, translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer and annotated by F. W. Hodge and C. F. Lummis.

281. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, May 11, 1596. The Inquisition had been established in New Spain in 1571. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 112; Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 675 ff.

282. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 1, 1598; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 44.

283. For the departure of Márquez see below.

in his place.²⁸⁴ Not all of the missionaries left, however. Father Salazar, Oñate's cousin, did not leave, nor did Márquez, not till he was compelled to somewhat later.

The Friars Seek Additional Favors. There has come down to us an interesting memorial dealing with the proposed conversion of New Mexico. It was probably composed by the Franciscan friars while they were preparing to go to New Mexico. The petition was sent to the commissary-general of the order who approved practically all of its provisions, whereupon it was directed to the viceroy in the hope of securing official sanction. As the king was to pay the expense of the missionaries royal consent was necessary before any increase of missionary force, as asked in the petition, could be made.²⁸⁵

The memorial sought to delimit the activities of the religious and temporal authorities. It is obvious that in such a frontier community there would be many opportunities for conflict between the soldiers, bent on wealth and glory, and the friars, ambitious to augment the kingdom of God, and the purpose of the memorial was the elimination of the former.

The petitioners requested the viceroy to increase the number of missionaries going to New Mexico from six to twelve; to prohibit the governor and royal officials from interfering with the establishment of churches or schools wherever the friars might desire to locate them; to have the governor assemble the Indians in towns that they might be more easily reached by the fathers; to permit trips into the interior by the padres without military escort. This last request was frowned upon by the commissary-general, for some of the friars might go on such missions merely to court martyrdom. The memorial further sought to reserve to the religious freedom of communication with the viceroy

284. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 1, 1598; cf. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 44.

285. *Memorial para el yllustrisimo se or visorrey en lo perteneciente a la doctrina y ministros del Nuevo Mexico*, undated, A. G. I., 58-3-15. It was sent to Spain by Mart n L pez de Gauna, the *secretario de gobernaci n*.

286. This point had also been emphasized in O ate's instructions,

and their superiors; to guarantee the natives freedom from serving the Spaniards in order not to incite their hostility;²⁸⁷ to insure the governor's leniency in making a census of the province which was to be used in apportioning tribute; to secure as interpreter, an Indian woman who had been brought from New Mexico, and some orphan boys in New Spain who would be taught the language of the natives of New Mexico; and to safeguard the new land from devastation by pardoning Leyva and Humaña of their misdeed in entering the land without authority. It was evidently in response to this appeal that Father Martínez early in 1598 was able to lead nine other padres to New Mexico.²⁸⁷

The Army Leaves Casco. It is now necessary to return to the thread of the story. We left Oñate and his followers encamped at the Casco mines, where most of them had been stationed since November 1, 1596. By February, 1597, the inspection had been satisfactorily completed, but the army was not permitted to march. On August 1 of the same year it was set in motion, evidently to bring the Casco division to Santa Bárbara. This occurred on August 19, and here at the farthest outpost of civilization camp was pitched to await the final inspection.²⁸⁸

The Royal Cédula of April 2, 1597. Meantime the Count of Monterey received the royal cédula of April 2, 1597 with the fleet.²⁸⁹ The decree was found to release Oñate from the ban of suspension and authorized him to continue the expedition, provided the men and supplies required by the contract were still held in readiness.²⁹⁰ When the viceroy forwarded this order to Oñate he urged him to declare frankly that the expedition was hopelessly ruined,

287. See chapter VI, note 346. The interpreter mentioned was Doña Ynes who had been brought from New Mexico by Castaño in 1591. She never learned her native tongue again. See "Ytinerario," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 258.

288. "Ytinerario," in *ibid.*, XVI, 231.

289. Ordinarily it arrived in August or September. In 1591 it came September 23-29; in 1595 on September 18.

290. Royal cédula, April 2, 1597, in Hackett *Hist. Docs.*, 345.

if such should be the case, in order that the conquest should not be put off any longer. Delay, he argued, would merely increase his loss and cause his friends and relatives greater suffering. But Oñate replied with great confidence that he was able to carry out the expedition at once. Monterey was so impressed with the "extreme earnestness" of this letter that he determined to send an officer at once to inspect the army.²⁹¹

Salazar Sent to Inspect the Army. On September 18, 1597, Monterey commissioned Juan de Frias Salazar to perform the required inspection.²⁹² Salazar was a native of the Burgos mountains and an inhabitant and miner of Pachuca. According to Monterey his choice was generally considered excellent. Salazar was rich, well up in years and possessed the character and intelligence required for the task. He was experienced in military affairs, having served in Flanders for several years. Moreover he was said to be entirely reliable and free from any personal or political ties which might hinder him in performing his duty thoroughly and conscientiously.

Nearly a year had passed since Ulloa's inspection and it was therefore probable that many of Oñate's soldiers and his stock of provisions would have dwindled considerably. This led Monterey to demand a thorough inspection in order that there might be no question as to his right to carry on the conquest of New Mexico.²⁹³ Salazar was given absolute power to carry it out. Oñate and all his captains and soldiers were ordered to render obedience to him. In

291. Monterey to the king, November 26, 1597, A. G. I., 58-3-12; cf. order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *Traslado autorizado en virtud de poder que para ello el señor virrey Conde de Monterey para enviar á S. M., y á su Real Consejo de las indias acerca de la visita de la jornada del Nuevo Mexico que hizo en comisión don Juan de Frias Salazar*, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter cited as *Salazar visita*.

292. Order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 197.

293. Monterey to the king, November 26, 1597, A. G. I., 58-3-12. Captain Luis Guerrero was named Salazar's assistant and Jaime Fernández was made notary. Salazar received a salary of three hundred pesos per month, Guerrero four pesos per day, Fernández three, the constable two and one-half and the interpreter two. The cost was to be met by the *real hacienda* as expenses of war. Order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

case of any disturbance the inspector was to mete out justice strictly. Salazar was thus serving in a dual capacity, both as *visitador* and *juez superior*.²⁹⁴

The instructions which Salazar carried for the performance of this inspection are known only in part. We know that he was required to take minute account of all the things Oñate had agreed to bring, as stated in his contract, and also of all other things taken along. If it was shown that Oñate had fully complied with his obligations he was to proceed with God's blessing. But if there were deficiencies it was left to Salazar to determine what should be done. A lack of as much as one-eighth part of the required amount might be excused, but that was the maximum. If any such insufficiency existed security had to be given so that the supplies could be forwarded to New Mexico.²⁹⁵

Salazar's Arrival at Santa Bárbara. When Salazar reached Zacatecas about the middle of October, 1597, some of Oñate's colonists were still there. These he ordered to leave within three days, directing them to go by way of Fresnillo, eight leagues distant, where he would join them in order to make regulations for the march.²⁹⁶ By November 16 he had reached Santa Bárbara,²⁹⁷ where his arrival was the occasion for a great demonstration. The governor and his officers appeared in full military regalia and fired a salute to honor their official guest. When Oñate and Salazar met they embraced, further military ceremonies were staged and all marched to the camp where a

294. *Ibid.*

295. *Copia de un capitulo de la comunicación que llevó Juan de Frias Salazar quando fue a visitar el campo de Don Juan de Oñate antes de entrar en el Nuevo Mexico.* A. G. I., 58-3-13 undated.

296. Order of Salazar, undated, in *Salazar visita*. Since it required about three weeks to go from Mexico to Zacatecas and approximately an equal length of time to Santa Bárbara the order was probably given about the middle of October.

297. Salazar to Oñate, November 16, 1597, in *ibid.* This notification is the first indication we have of his arrival at Santa Bárbara.

298. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 46. Villagrà vividly depicts these scenes and the change in the *esprit de corps* of the army. In their joy, he states, the soldiers strutted about like peacocks.

second salute was given. The inspector's arrival had a remarkable effect on the army. Hope in the future was high.²⁹⁹

The enthusiasm exhibited in this ostentatious manner soon turned to bitterness. Immediately after his arrival, for instance, Salazar advised Oñate that faithful obedience to all instructions would be necessary if the outcome of the inspection was expected to be successful. Then he ordered that the entire camp be put in immediate marching order.³⁰⁰ This was on November 16. At the same time he required Oñate to furnish a list of all the officers and men in the army and ordered every member of the expedition to appear personally before him.³⁰¹ Oñate received this order with disappointment. The ruin of the enterprise seemed imminent, according to Villagr , for many days would be needed to prepare and load the carts and wagons.³⁰² Nevertheless immediate compliance with the order was promised, though it was accompanied by a mild remonstrance, since the army was comfortably established and prepared to undergo the visitation in that locality.³⁰³

Salazar soon made provision for protecting the inhabitants in the neighborhood of the camp. Captain Juan de Gordejuela, the alcalde of the province, was authorized to protect them and to redress all wrongs whether inflicted on Spaniards or Indians by soldiers or colonists from the army. Members of the expedition were prohibited from taking anything which did not belong to them. For the first offense the guilty one must pay for the stolen goods at the rate of four times its value and receive six lashes. A second offense would necessitate more rigorous punishment. The order was publicly proclaimed.³⁰⁴

The Army Forced to Leave Santa B rbara. Six days had now passed since the inspector first required Oñate to

299. *Ibid.*

300. *Aviso*, November 16, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

301. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 46.

302. *Aviso*, November 17, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

303. *Orders of Salazar*, November 21, 1597, in *ibid.*

have the army in marching order and it was still at Santa Bárbara. A second notice was given and a warning sounded. Again the governor promised to comply, but a louder protest was made. All his supplies were stored in Santa Bárbara warehouses and he contended that the inspection ought to be held there. In spite of this situation he claimed to be exercising all the diligence and haste possible. On the same day Salazar forbade anyone, either within or without the army, to loan Oñate anything in order to help him pass the inspection. If this had been done immediate notification had to be made thereof.³⁰⁴

Notwithstanding the above orders the army remained in camp, and as a result a third notice came.³⁰⁵ The governor was now ordered to break camp and to set out toward the frontier, continuing till a suitable place for holding the *visita* should be found. Salazar maintained that it could not be done satisfactorily at Santa Bárbara. On December 5 there came a fourth order of like tenor, which also requested him to account for his failure to obey. Oñate was warned that this delay was at his own risk.³⁰⁶ This elicited a vigorous response from the aggrieved governor. Great injury was being done him, he insisted. According to his contract the inspection should be held at Santa Bárbara where the army was then stationed, as that was the last settlement. Nevertheless neither he nor any of his men had been inactive. Their preparations were so far along that the march could be undertaken within a week..³⁰⁷

Though Oñate was so very indignant because Salazar would not hold the inspection at Santa Bárbara it is clear that the latter's orders were not all unfavorable to him. Thus he prohibited the soldiers from scattering while on the march. No one might turn back. The damage already inflicted on the country was bad enough, and returning

304. See reports under date of November 23, 1597, in *ibid.*

305. *Tercero apercibimiento*, November 30, 1597, in *ibid.*

306. *Quarto apercibimiento*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

307. *Notificación*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

bands of soldiers would probably be in more desperate circumstances and cause further trouble. This order was occasioned by the departure of some soldiers on December 4. Oñate was notified that if these deserters did not return as ordered the matter would be placed in the viceroy's hands.³⁰⁸ In his reply the governor agreed to cooperate with Salazar. He promised that the army should march without being divided. He expressed pleasure that no one would be allowed to depart, for that was exactly what he desired. Regarding the soldiers who had left the day previous he could only say that they had gone without permission to round up some cattle. Such was the story told in Santa Bárbara. In compliance with Salazar's order he forbade them to take part in the enterprise.³⁰⁹

Final Arrangements for the Inspection. Plans for the inspection were meanwhile being formulated and enforced by stern discipline. By one order every member of the expedition had been required to declare personally what he was bringing, whether it was provisions or munitions, horses or cattle, or anything else. This order had been issued November 16.³¹⁰ Now it was decreed that this had to be done within four days or the goods would be subject to confiscation..³¹¹ The order was generally observed, though a few stragglers appeared later in December. Those at Todos Santos gave their declarations between January 4 and 6, 1598. Salazar wanted to secure a record of what each man possessed in order to distinguish their goods from what Oñate was bringing.³¹² A short time later it was decreed that no one might leave for New Mexico without the inspector's approval under penalty of death; nor could any live stock be taken along unless first seen by the inspecting officers.³¹³

308. *Auto*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

309. *Notificación*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

310. See above.

311. *Bando*, December 5, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

312. *Manifestación*, in *ibid.*

313. *Bando*, December 9, 1597, in *ibid.*

After oft repeated orders Oñate finally set the army in motion on December 18, 1597.³¹⁴ The next two days were spent rounding up the cattle and crossing the San Bartolomé river. Two and one-half leagues farther on a halt was ordered at the San Gerónimo river where the inspection was ordered to be held.³¹⁵ This aroused Villagrà's ire, for it was a barren spot. Some relief was afforded, however, when a few small springs furnishing an ample water supply were found near by. The faithful poet ascribed this discovery to the mercy of God.³¹⁶

Without further delay Salazar made the final arrangements for the inspection. Two experienced stockmen were named to assist in inspecting the animals.³¹⁷ Then notice was served that the inspection would actually begin on December 22 at the San Gerónimo river, one league from the mines of Todos Santos.³¹⁸ The governor was required to take oath that all the things in his possession were his own and that nothing had been furnished him secretly. This he did in the inspector's presence.³¹⁹

In the neighborhood of Santa Bárbara lived several men who possessed large holdings and great herds of cattle. Salazar feared that Oñate might have made corrupt arrangements with them to help him pass the inspection. He required these men, Bartolomé Delgado, Pedro Sánchez de Chaves and Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida, to give sworn statement of the cattle they had given, sold or loaned him. Only Pedro Sánchez de Chaves had aided Oñate, having sold him several hundred head of stock. As it was a legitimate sale no objections were made.³²⁰

314. *Fee*, December 19, 1597, in *ibid.* The "Ytinerario" gives the date when the start was made as the 17. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 231.

315. This was December 20, *ibid.*

316. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 46.

317. They were Bartolomé Delgado of Nombre de Dios and Juan Sánchez de Ulloa of Todos Santos. *Auto*, December 20, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

318. *Auto*, December 21, 1597, in *ibid.*

319. *Auto*, and Oñate's reply, December 22, 1597, in *ibid.* At the same time Oñate chose the *contador* Alonso Sánchez to represent him during the *visita*.

320. Order of Salazar and reply, December 21, 1597, in *ibid.* Pedro de la Cruz also appears as one of the prominent inhabitants of this locality.

Before actually beginning the inspection Salazar ordered that no one would be allowed to leave the camp or the *cuartel de armas* for any reason whatsoever, except by his express order.³²¹ This proclamation filled the army with dismay. It caused the soldiers who were guarding the stock to come into camp, for instance, leaving the latter to stray and to cause further confusion.³²² But the *visita* was begun on December 22 as had been decreed.

While the inspection was under way it became evident to Salazar that injuries were being done the ranchers of the neighborhood by the soldiers. Perhaps the stringent measures adopted fostered a spirit of rebellion. At any rate cattle were disappearing from the vicinity without any more reasonable explanation than that they were stolen and slaughtered by the soldiers. So it was ordered that cattle should not be killed outside of the *cuartel*, and that slaughtering should occur on only one day during the week, Oñate being privileged to designate the day. Both he and Salazar then chose a representative who were to inspect the cattle on the stated day. They had to note the brand and report to the inspector.³²³

The Outcome of the Inspection. From December 22, 1597, to January 8, the inspection was in progress. Salazar gave it his personal attention, for it was not to be a mere formality, according to the viceroy's instructions. The inspector obeyed literally, if the poet is to be trusted. The cattle were first listed, one kind at the time. It was never known till the day previous what particular kind would be inspected in the morning. This compelled the men to go out at night to round up the scattered animals. If more should later be found Salazar refused to enter it in his record.³²⁴ Oñate did fall short of his obligations in some respects, but whether Villagr  s excuses are the right ones is

321. Order of Salazar, December 21, 1597, in *ibid*; Villagr  , *Historia*, I, 47.

322. *Ibid*.

323. Order of Salazar, January 4, in *Salazar visita*.

324. Villagr  , *Historia*, I, 47.

another story. It is obvious that Salazar had his own difficulties in carrying out his task. A brief table will illustrate Oñate's chief deficits.

Name	Required	Deficit
goats	1000 head	284 head
sheep for wool	3000 head	483 head
sheep for mutton	1000 head	617 head
quicksilver	150 head	54 head
powder	150 head	49 head
leads ³²⁵	500 pesos	125 pesos
frieze & sackcloth	500 pesos	500 pesos
gifts to Indians	600 pesos	37 pesos
medicine	500 pesos	375 pesos
iron for tools	500 pesos	144 pesos
jerked beef	500 pesos	331 pesos
wheat	100 quintals	22 quintals
mares	30 quintals	4 quintals
colts	10 quintals	5 quintals

There was, on the other hand, a surplus in some divisions, notably in the footgear, flour and iron tools. Oñate also brought some things not stipulated in the contract.³²⁶ These surplus materials were substituted for some of the less important deficiencies.³²⁷ Nevertheless the final count showed that he was short over two thousand three hundred pesos.³²⁸

When the inspection of the cattle, supplies and provisions was completed the final review was ordered to be held at the mines of Todos Santos on January 8, 1598. Indians, mulattos or mestizos were barred from the review unless they made declaration of their status. If anyone proposed to enlist with the intention of remaining behind after hav-

325. Oñate offered twenty quintals of greda as a substitute for the lead. However when Salazar passed San Gerónimo on the way to Mexico city he found two Indians with a cart and oxen digging up the said greda. They said that Oñate had sold it to Pedro de la Cruz, one of the residents of that region. Reports of Salazar and Negrete, February 6, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

326. *Visita*, in *ibid*.

327. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I. 58-3-13.

328. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento" in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 197.

ing helped the governor through the muster Salazar threatened the death penalty. They were given a free chance to leave, as were those who might have been persuaded to join the army.³²⁹

On the eve of the review Salazar had learned that a number of soldiers were dependent on Oñate for their equipment and he requested him to declare the truth under oath. He named twenty-two men and desired to know what each was to receive. From this statement can be inferred how great a struggle Oñate was putting forth to fulfill the terms of the contract. Only in this way could he get soldiers to remain through the long delays. In his reply only twenty men were named as dependent upon him and he specified what each was to receive. With slight exceptions this included two horses, helmet, visor, coat of mail, cuishes, harquebus and horse armor.³³⁰ It is significant to note, however, that of the twenty only eleven appeared in the final review. What had become of the others? Villagr  says that many took advantage of Salazar's offer permitting the return of those who wanted to do so.³³¹ Evidently the faint-hearted took advantage of that opportunity and deserted the friends who had striven so hard to keep the expedition at its full number.

The review at Todos Santos was held as ordered, the performance taking place within the church. It was conducted in the following manner. As each appeared his name was recorded, together with his birthplace and his father's name. His personal appearance was briefly described, and he had to present the arms with which he was provided. When the task was completed at the end of the day one hundred and twenty-nine had appeared before the inspector, seventy-one less than the required number.³³²

329. Orders of Salazar, January 7, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

330. Auto, and Oñate's reply, January 7, 1598, in *ibid*.

331. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 47-48.

332. *Muestra y lista de la gente*, January 8, 1598, in *Salazar visita*; *Monterey d S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-13. The "Memorial" says there were one hundred and thirty men. *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 198. Besides these Oñate had other

With that the inspection was over except in so far as Oñate's personal equipment was concerned. It was listed the next day and found to contain more than had been agreed upon.³³³

As Salazar's instructions had authorized the continuance of the expedition provided bond was given for making good any deficiencies which might appear, Oñate was forced to avail himself of that opportunity. Again he sought aid from his cousin Juan Guerra, the wealthy miner of Aviño. The appeal was promptly answered. Juan Guerra and his wife, Doña Ana de Zaldívar y Mendoza, bonded themselves to pay for whatever deficits the inspection had revealed. The guarantee was drawn up at Aviño January 21, 1598. Presenting the inspector with this security Oñate requested permission to proceed. This was not given, however, till he had certified that this should cover the expenses of eighty soldiers, of everything that would be required for their journey to New Mexico, of all damages that might be committed on the march and of the cost of an inspection of such reinforcements.³³⁴ With this new indebtedness on his hands Oñate at last directed his force toward New Mexico.

soldiers, but they did not dare to enlist. They had evidently committed offenses and incurred Salazar's displeasure. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598.

333. *Para la persona*, January 9, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

334. *Escritura otorgado en favor de la real hacienda por Don Juan de Oñate*, January 27, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-12; *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598.

Chapter VI.

The Establishment of the Colony

The Army Leaves Santa Bárbara. With the ordeal of the Salazar inspection over the final preparations for the march to the north began. These were soon completed, and on January 26, 1598, the expedition began moving out of San Gerónimo,³³⁵ where it had been stationed since December 20, 1597.

When the Conchos river was reached on January 30 a week's halt was made in order to review the army and formally finish the inspection. Spanish travellers in America never encamped on the near side of a river, but always made haste to cross and camp on the farther shore.³³⁶ The scene that now took place when Oñate's army reached the Conchos is vividly portrayed by Villagrà. One hundred and twenty-nine soldiers, eighty-three wagons and seven thousand head of stock had to cross the river.³³⁷ No one dared tempt the rushing stream. Seeing the fainthearted soldiers lag Oñate mounted a charger and made a stirring challenge to his men. Then he spurred his horse into the river and soon gained the opposite bank. Returning to the army he took the lead in goading the stock across the stream.³³⁸

One incident in this scene called forth a novel plan.

335. "Ytinerario," January 26, 1598, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 232. The "Ytinerario" will hereafter be cited by date entry only.

336. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124.

337. "Ytinerario," April 1-2, 1598; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 35,49. When the Ulloa inspection took place only forty three carts were listed, nineteen of which belonged to various captains and soldiers. In the Salazar inspection only the twenty four carts Oñate possessed were noted. On the other hand the "Ytinerario" states specifically that eighty-three wagons were taken to New Mexico, twenty-one being deserted by the wayside as they were emptied of provisions. See below. The latter figure is undoubtedly correct as the personal possessions of the soldiers were not all listed.

338. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 50-51.

When the sheep were driven into the water, many sank as the wool became water soaked. To remedy this tragic situation the governor ordered his astonished followers to construct a bridge. It was a primitive pontoon structure. Two dozen cart wheels were placed in the stream some distance apart and secured by ropes. Trees were felled, stripped of branches and placed on top of the wheels. A layer of brush and sticks was added, then a covering of earth, and the bridge was completed. The sheep crossed dry-shod, and the structure was quickly destroyed as night settled on the scene.³³⁹

Departure of the Visitor. The following morning the people assembled to witness the departure of the visitor.³⁴⁰ All expected an encouraging message of farewell while the governor hoped to receive authority to continue the expedition. He was deeply disappointed. After mass had been said Salazar informed him that he might proceed with the conquest, and without further ado turned his eyes toward Mexico city.³⁴¹

The reason for the inspector's action is clear. Oñate had not been able to meet his obligations, and Salazar refused to declare the contract fulfilled without consulting the viceroy. The permission to enter New Mexico was thus really conditional, as Monterey informed the king. If Oñate did not prove satisfactory it would still be possible to take different action.³⁴²

With the visitor out of the way the expedition was soon ready for the march. On February 7, 1598, the camp at the Conchos river was deserted. But instead of following the course of that stream to the Rio Grande as previous expeditions had done, Oñate struck out directly toward the

339. Villagr , *Historia*, I. 52.

340. This was perhaps February 2. Salazar's last order from the Conchos was made at that time when he ordered the death penalty for anyone turning back. Order of Salazar, in *Salazar visita*.

341. Villagr , *Historia*, 58.

342. *Monterey   S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

north, opening a new trail to the river.³⁴³ In the first three days march the colonists went eleven leagues to the San Pedro river. Here a month was spent awaiting the arrival of a new body of Franciscans.³⁴⁴

It is of interest to note that about this time Fray Diego Márquez, whom Villagr  calls the only confessor in the army, returned to Mexico. The governor implored him to remain, all to no avail. As he remained obdurate O ate ordered a guard to accompany him, Captain Farf n in command. It departed as the army approached the San Pedro river on February 10.³⁴⁵ In less than a month, March 3, Farf n returned escorting the Franciscans on the final stretch of their journey to join the expedition. Fray Alonso Mart nez was the new commissary of the group. Their arrival was celebrated with ceremonies befitting the occasion.³⁴⁶

Zald var Explores the Road. Meanwhile on February 14, the governor sent out a party of seventeen men, led by the *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zald var, to find a wagon road to the Rio del Norte.³⁴⁷ Many difficulties were encountered by this force. Their guides proved a sorry lot. Water was hard to find, at one time three days being spent without any. Provisions, also, were running low. Then Zald var sent a part of his force back to the camp, giving them strict orders not to utter a word regarding the hunger and thirst they had experienced.³⁴⁸ With his remaining

343. See below.

344. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598.

345. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 55-56. Bancroft leaves the impression that Fray M rquez left the expedition at the same time as the visitor, which took place about February 2, 1598. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124.

346. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598; the Franciscans were: Alonso Mart nez, Francisco de Zamora, Juan de Rosas, Francisco de San Miguel, Juan Claros, Alonso de Lugo, Crist bal de Salazar, Andr s Corchado, and two lay brothers, Pedro de Vergara and Juan de San Buenaventura. Three brothers are also named, Mart n, Francisco and Juan de Dios.

347. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598. O ate says that Zald var had sixteen men. O ate to the king, Rio de las Conchos, March 15, 1598, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397.

348. On the contrary they were to dissimulate by announcing good news. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 56-58.

companions the *sargento mayor* reached the Rio del Norte on February 28, after innumerable hardships. From the Conchos to the Rio Grande they had traveled about seventy leagues.³⁴⁹ Their purpose having been fulfilled they rejoined the camp on March 10, three days after the return of the first group.³⁵⁰

From the San Pedro to the Rio Grande. The entire expedition, including the missionaries, being now united, camp was broken the very day of Zaldívar's return.³⁵¹ Two days later, from the Nombre de Dios river, Captain Landin was sent to Mexico city with letters.³⁵²

Gradually the little caravan crawled forward with little of importance to record. March 20 was a day of rest which was spent in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. A little chapel was built, and the missionaries spent the night in penitence and prayer, petitioning the Lord to guide them on their march as he had formerly led the children of Israel out of Egypt.³⁵³

As it was Easter time the Spaniards gave every object or stopping place a name befitting the season. These names have not been retained, so it is difficult to map out Oñate's precise route. In a general way it followed the line of the Mexican Central Railway.

On March 30 a short rest was taken in the Valle de San Martín, the latitude being exactly thirty degrees.³⁵⁴ The governor frequently found it difficult to find water for

349. On this trip they heard of the pueblos which were said to be sixteen or twenty leagues beyond the Rio Grande. The scouting party had left the hostile Pataragueyes forty leagues to the right. These were the Jumanos near the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande. Oñate to the king, March 15, 1598, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397.

350. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 58.

351. "Ytinerario," March 10, 1598.

352. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1598; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 58. One of these letters was from Oñate to the king. Again he told the story of his troubles in order to convince the crown that the contract, as confirmed by Velasco, ought to be restored. It was dated March 15, 1598. See Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397.

353. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 58-59; "Ytinerario," March 20, 1598. Villagrà says that in a secret spot known only to himself, Oñate spent part of the day on his knees, lacerating his shoulders and asking divine guidance in carrying out his mission as leader of the expedition. Many others did the same. *Historia*, I, 59.

354. "Ytinerario," March 27-30, 1598.

both men and beasts. On April 1 this deficiency was somewhat miraculously supplied. That day all had been compelled to march without water, but an extraordinarily heavy rain left the water standing in large pools, so that the entire herd of seven thousand animals drank their fill. Two days later the dry bed of a river was discovered. Nearby was a marsh formed by some hot springs. This was in latitude thirty and one-half degrees.³⁵⁵

On April 9 the army approached the region of the sand dunes. This was in approximately thirty-one degrees, for on the next day camp was pitched in precisely that latitude.³⁵⁶ Some days were now spent in avoiding the sand dunes and finding a route not destitute of water. For this reason the expedition marched within reach of the Rio Grande, in order that the cattle might go to the river for water. On April 20 the main part of the caravan reached the great river about twenty-five miles south of El Paso, at a place where the stream was very sluggish and the bed soft and muddy. Here nearly a week was spent until the entire expedition could unite. It had been forced to march in separate detachments in order to secure water.³⁵⁷

Taking Possession of the Land. Having reached the Rio Grande its course was followed till April 30, the day of the Ascension of the Lord, when the governor planned to take official possession of the land. A campsite particularly appropriate for that purpose was selected, and everyone in the expedition was ordered to don his finest clothes to make a splendid show on the festive day.³⁵⁸ Thereupon the customary elaborate ceremony of taking possession was observed. Not only New Mexico was claimed for God, King Philip and himself, but all the adjoining provinces as well.³⁵⁹

355. *Ibid.*, April 1 and 4, 1598. See also Villagr  *Historia*, I, 75.

356. "Ytinerario," April 9-10, 1598.

357. *Ibid.*, April 12-20, 1598; cf. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 172.

358. "Ytinerario," April 30, 1598; *Carta de Don Lu s de Velasco   S. M.*, March 22, 1601, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

359. The curious document which tells of this ceremony is given in full by Villagr . It was witnessed by Juan P rez de Donis, the royal notary, by all the friars and also by the officers and soldiers of the army. *Historia*, I, 77-81.

As part of the festivities Fray Alonso Martínez preached a learned sermon. But it was also a time for rejoicing and merry making, the "otro" Mexico was not far distant. In the afternoon the royal standard was blessed and placed in charge of the royal ensign, Francisco de Sosa y Peñalosa.³⁶⁰ The day ended with the presentation of an original comedy written by Captain Farfán. Its theme dealt with the reception which the church would receive in New México.³⁶¹

El Paso del Norte. Following these events the march continued up stream. May 3 the first Indians from the river region were brought to camp. These were kindly treated, clothed and sent to bring their companions. The next day the army was shown a convenient ford, *el paso*, to which the natives came for leagues around when going inland. It is interesting to note that the ford by which Oñate crossed the Rio Grande is the modern El Paso, a name that has been retained from his day till our own. Here about forty natives appeared, armed with bows and gayly decorated with paint. Presents were generously distributed among them, in return for which they aided the Spaniards in getting the sheep across the river. They told the Europeans, by signs, that the settlements were only eight days' march ahead.³⁶²

Reconnoitering the First Pueblos. The expedition was now on soil which had already been traversed by Spanish feet. The tracks left by Castaño's wagons when he was led captive from New Mexico in 1591, were seen on May

360. Writing to the king three years later Don Luís de Velasco charged Oñate with irregularities in handling the royal standard during the performance. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. This was also one of the charges later brought against Oñate by the fiscal of the audiencia of Mexico. *Testimonio de las sentencias*, May 16, 1614, A. G. I., 58-3-17.

361. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 76; "Ytinerario," April 30, 1598.

362. *Ibid.*, May 3-4, 1598; Villagrà also refers to these events but only in a general way. *Historia*, I, 76. On April 30 the army reached the Rio Grande exactly in latitude thirty-one and one-half degrees. On May 4 it was at El Paso in latitude thirty-one precisely. About eight and one-half leagues had been traversed, and though the march was upstream half a degree had been lost. Such is the record given in the "Ytinerario". It is true that there is a bend in the river, but not enough to account for this discrepancy.

4. At other places stories of Castaño's escapade were heard. The march continued, and on May 12 Oñate sent Captain Aguilar with six soldiers to reconnoitre. He had orders not to enter any of the native settlements under penalty of death.³⁶³ This nearly proved his undoing, for when he returned on the 20, he had visited the first of the New Mexico pueblos. For disobeying in this manner the governor was on the point of garroting him, but relented when the captains and soldiers interceded in his behalf. Fearing that the Indians would now become frightened and hide their maize Oñate set out for the pueblos two days later with a picked body of men. He was also on the lookout for Humaña and Leyva, for it was not yet known that they were dead. The rest of the colonists were left to follow more slowly with the wagons.³⁶⁴ The point from which Oñate here set out was fifteen and one-half leagues from El Paso.³⁶⁵

The governor's small force moved along under great hardships. The road was new and extremely difficult and water always scarce. It was the famous "Jornada del Muerto" which was being crossed. May 25, when the trail again followed the river, greater progress was made, and in two days, after an additional twenty-two leagues had been traversed, the soldiers reached "la cienega de la mesilla de guinea," a distinctive mesa of black rock.³⁶⁶ This conspicuous landmark, according to Bandelier, corresponds with the present San Marcial.³⁶⁷ The next day the first

363. "Ytinerario," May 4-12, 1598.

364. *Ibid.*, May 20 and 22, 1598. With Oñate were Fathers Martínez and Salazar, the *sargento mayor* and the *maestro de campo*. Villagrà says there were fifty men in the group. *Historia*, I, 82. Oñate gives the number as sixty. See his letter of March 22, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 213.

365. See "Ytinerario," for dates up to May 22, 1598.

366. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1598.

367. Bandelier, A. F. A. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, carried on mainly in the years from 1880 to 1885*, I, 130-131, 181 note1. This is further substantiated by the detailed account of the pueblos given by the Chamuscado Rodríguez expedition. Hernan Gallegos, *Relación y conculdo de el viaje y subaseo que Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus compañeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico . . . 1581-1582*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. A copy of this document is in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

pueblos were seen after a march of four leagues. Here camp was pitched near the second one, called Qualacú. The Indians, excited and suspicious at the approach of the strangers, deserted their homes. Generous gifts of trinkets quieted them somewhat, and the soldiers remained camped near the river for some time in order not to unduly arouse them. Meanwhile provisions were sent back for the soldiers who were following.³⁶⁸

About a fortnight later the march was resumed by the advance party. June 14 the men marched three leagues and halted in front of Teipana, or Socorro, as the Spaniards called it, because there they found a much needed supply of maize. This stop seems to have been in the vicinity of the present Socorro.³⁶⁹ Another seven leagues beyond Socorro was the pueblo of New Seville, which may correspond with the old pueblo of Sevilleta, near La Joya.³⁷⁰ At that place the Spanish soldiers dallied five days. Then they went to the new pueblo of San Juan Baptista, four leagues to the north.³⁷¹ It, too, had been quickly abandoned. From this time numerous pueblos were seen on either side of the river, though they were generally deserted by the frightened natives.

In the meantime Oñate had heard of two Mexican Indians, Thomas and Cristóbal, when they sent a spy to visit him at San Juan Baptista. These two had remained in New Mexico since the time of Castaño's entrada, and would be invaluable as interpreters and guides. So the governor set out for Puaray, sixteen leagues beyond San Juan Bap-

368. "Ytinerario," May 22-23, 1598. The itinerary states that they remained encamped by the river a month. This is contradicted a little later when it says they left after a stay of two weeks.

369. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 129. The total distance from El Paso is given as forty-one and one-half leagues and is an aid in arriving at this conclusion, as are the subsequent marches of the soldiers.

370. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 238.

371. "Ytinerario," June 12-16, 1598. So called because it was reached on Saint John's day. It should not be confused with San Juan de los Caballeros. Perhaps the ruins at Sabinal indicate the location of San Juan Baptista. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 238.

tista, in order to find them. He reached it on June 21.³⁷² In this period, as Hackett has demonstrated in his study of the reconquest after the great revolt in 1680, Puaray was situated one league above Alameda, or about nine leagues above Isleta.³⁷³ This is further substantiated by the "census" made by the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition in 1581.³⁷⁴

At Puaray Oñate was told that the two Indians in question were at Santo Domingo, six leagues distant. Accompanied by his *maestre de campo* he immediately set out to secure the two men, and on the following day took them unawares and brought them back to Puaray. Now all prepared to go to Santa Domingo, but before doing so the two Zaldívars and Father Salazar visited the pueblo which they called Tria, perhaps Sia.³⁷⁵ Then the party moved on to San Felipe, almost three leagues, and on June 30 the soldiers reached Santa Domingo, four leagues more.³⁷⁶ At that time the pueblo stood very near the present Santo Domingo.³⁷⁷

Santo Domingo Renders Obedience. Here Oñate remained approximately a week in order to bring the Indians of the surrounding country under his authority. Various chiefs were summoned, and on July 7 there was held the first council of seven chiefs in response to the governor's call.³⁷⁸ Many other native leaders were pres-

372. "Ytinerario," June 24-27, 1598; Villagr , *Historia*, I, 84. The natives of Puaray received O ate very hospitably. The friars were lodged in a newly painted room. When the paint had dried they saw pictures of Fathers Rodr guez and L pez, which the Indians had tried to conceal. These two friars had remained in New Mexico in 1581. Both had suffered martyrdom.

373. Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia in 1681," in *Old Santa Fe*, II, 381-391.

374. Hern n Gallegos, *Relaci n y concudio*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

375. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 562.

376. "Ytinerario," June 28 and 30, 1598; Villagr , *Historia*, I, 85. As Bancroft says "not much importance can be attached to exact distances in these records. Clearly San Felipe and Santo Domingo correspond with those still so called, though it is not certain that the sites were not slightly changed in the next century." *Arizona and New Mexico*, 130 note 5. For a discussion of the Spanish league see Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos*, 8-9.

377. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 185 note 1.

378. "Ytinerario," July 7, 1598.

ent for the occasion, as well as the Spanish officers and missionaries. All gathered in the great *estufa* of the pueblo. The interpreters were sworn in, and Oñate explained to the assembled chiefs the purpose of his coming. He had been sent by the most powerful monarch in the world, King Philip of Spain, who wished that they should be his subjects. If they submitted they would be protected from their enemies. But he was especially eager for the salvation of their souls. Oñate explained the doctrine of salvation and the fate awaiting those who did not accept baptism. After having listened to these new ideas the chiefs willingly agreed to accept the God and king of the Spaniards, and as a sign of their submission kneeled and kissed the hands of the father commissary and the governor.³⁷⁹ Whether or not Oñate's speech on conversion and vassalage was understood, it was a necessary affair, and the Indians accepted the new position, perhaps as Bancroft says, because "present disaster and future damnation" seemed "inseparably connected with refusal."³⁸⁰

The Capital Established at San Juan. After having received the submission of these tribal chieftains at Santo Domingo Oñate soon set out on further explorations. He evidently went to Bove, renamed San Ildefonso,³⁸¹ as soon as the ceremony at Santo Domingo was over, (the distance was eight leagues), for on July 10 he left that place and

379. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los Indios de Santo Domingo" in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 101-108.

380. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 130-131.

381. The "Ytinerario" says nothing of the trip from Santo Domingo to Bove. It states: "Patrimos de Bove, que llamamos Sant Ildefonso. . . . ay casi ocho leguas y algun mal camino. . . ." It does not state where they came to at the end of the eight leagues, but continues: "A honce, andabimos dos leguas, al pueblo de Caypa, que llamamos Sant Joan . . ." There is clearly an error in this account. Instead of leaving Bove they must have gone to Bove, a distance of nearly eight leagues, and reached it on the 10th. Then on the 11th two leagues to San Juan. This explanation corresponds with the actual distances and also makes possible the detour of the carts by way of San Marcos. Bancroft moved San Ildefonso farther south in an effort to make it agree with the "Ytinerario". But that is incorrect, for San Ildefonso, according to another source, was three leagues from San Juan. Testimony of Jusepe Brondate in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 28, 1601. A. G. I., 58-3-15. Compare Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 131.

went two leagues to Caypa which he reached the next day. The carts were compelled to make a detour of an additional six leagues by way of San Marcos because the direct road was not fit for wagons. Here at Caypa Oñate established his capital. It was christened San Juan,³⁸² the name by which it has ever since been known. In Oñate's time it was frequently called San Juan de los Caballeros, but the origin of the name is obscure.³⁸³ The Spaniards maintained their headquarters here till the establishment of San Gabriel west of the Rio Grande.³⁸⁴ Just when the change was made is uncertain, but at the time the relief expedition arrived at Christmas, 1600, the capital had been changed to that place.³⁸⁵

Hasty Exploration of the Land. This period of the preliminary exploration of New Mexico by Oñate and his friends was a period of great hopes. Might not any mo-

382. "Ytinerario," July 9-11, 1598. Twitchell holds that the carts on their detour passed near the present site of the city of Santa Fé. *Leading Facts*, 319 note 325. That they may have passed near the site of the city is quite possible, but Twitchell has the carts going south to reach San Juan! He is misled by the "Ytinerario" and has the carts set out from San Ildefonso, going up the present Pojoaque river by way of the pueblo of Tesuque, thence over a divide of two leagues to the Rio Santa Fé to San Marcos. A careful study of the "Ytinerario" shows clearly that the party went from *Santo Domingo* to San Ildefonso, the carts perhaps going over the route suggested by Twitchell, but in the reverse order. They were going north, not south.

383. Villigrá says it was so named in order to commemorate the fame of those who first raised the banner of Christ in those regions. *Historia*, I, 87. Because of a story, also told by Villagrá, of how the padres produced some much needed rain, Bancroft infers that the name was due to the courtesy of the Spaniards. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 131. Twitchell holds that it was so named because of the friendliness with which the Indians of San Juan received Oñate. *Leading Facts*, I, 315.

384. There is a controversy regarding the location of San Gabriel. Professor Bolton, relying on a contemporary map, places it on the right bank of the Chama, while Twitchell insists it was on the left bank of that stream, holding that the map is in error. He bases his contention on ruins found there and on traditions of the Indians. He quotes a document of 1710 to support his view. But it should be noted that the map referred to has a pueblo on the left bank of the Chama and tradition may readily have confused the two as regards the location of Oñate's headquarters during those first years in New Mexico. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 203, and map facing 212; Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, 17, 22.

385. "Entrásemos en el real y pueblo de San Gabriel donde hallamos á Don Juan de Oñate y la demas gente. . . ." Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo*, September 7, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15. The capital was still at San Juan as late as March, 1599. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 203 note 1.

ment reward their search with the discovery of untold wealth? Consequently we find the governor on the road again on July 13, going in the direction of Picuries, six leagues from San Juan, which stands on nearly the same spot today as it did then.³⁸⁶ On the way some one found a bit of ore which had accumulated in the riffles of a creek, but that was the sole extent of the precious metals discovered. Thence Oñate proceeded to Taos, another six leagues. Its location has changed a few hundred yards, the former site being farther toward the northeast. This was the northern limit of exploration at that time.³⁸⁷

By July 19 the governor was back in San Juan, but not to stay. The next day he started a tour which went through San Ildefonso, San Marcos, San Cristóbal, Galisteo and Pecos.³⁸⁸ Returning at once he reached Santo Domingo on July 27, where the *maestre de campo* Zaldívar had arrived with the carts and the main body of the troops on his way to San Juan.³⁸⁹ One can perhaps imagine the eagerness with which the newcomers listened to the stories of their friends who had already seen much of the "otro" Mexico, though not much of the looked for treasure.

Continuing the tour on August 2, the governor's party visited Tria on the way to Emmes. Here was a whole group of pueblos, eleven in number. This was the Jemez group, but modern archaeologists have not been able to determine the number or location of the various pueblos.³⁹⁰ The Spaniards were astonished at their almost inaccessible location.

386. "Ytinerario," July 13, 1598; Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 123.

387. "Ytinerario," July 13, 1598; Hodge *Handbook*, II, 688.

388. San Ildefonso was reached the 20, San Marcos, five leagues distant, the 21, San Cristóbal the 22, Galisteo the 24, and Pecos the 25. On the 26 the party returned to San Marcos, a distance of five leagues, where ores were extracted from some mines, and on the 27 to Santo Domingo. See "Ytinerario," for dates mentioned.

San Marcos was near Callaite, famed for its "turquoise mines." Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 92-93. San Cristóbal was five miles east of Galisteo. *Ibid.*, 103-105. Galisteo was near its present location. *Ibid.*, 100-101, and Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 481. Pecos was on an upper branch of the Pecos river. *Ibid.*, II, 220. See also Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 127ff; II, 125ff.

389. See "Ytinerario" for dates mentioned.

390. *Ibid.*, August 2-5 1598; Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 204-207, Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 629.

With this trip over they returned as far as San Ildefonso, which they reached on the 9, and undoubtedly to San Juan the next day.³⁹¹ Nowhere had Oñate found the things which were primarily sought. It was obvious that he would have to go farther afield in his search, and the next few years were spent chasing numerous, but ever elusive, hopes.

The Arrival of the Carts. Meantime the carts and wagons had experienced even greater difficulties than Oñate's advance party, as it took them over a month to traverse the distance to the first pueblos covered by the governor in less than a week. June 26 the eighty-three wagons, now reduced to sixty-one, approached the first settlements. Santo Domingo was reached on July 27. The twenty-two carts not accounted for had been deserted as they were emptied of provisions.³⁹² The soldiers and colonists bringing the carts were discontented, largely because of a lack of provisions. As a result there was difficulty in maintaining discipline.³⁹³ To avoid trouble and hurry them along Oñate sent his *maestre de campo* to be their leader. Finally on August 18 they reached the capital which had been established at San Juan. From San Bartolomé they had traveled one hundred and sixty-one weary leagues.³⁹⁴

The First Church is Built. Shortly after this a church was added to the little Spanish settlement in New Mexico. It was San Juan Baptista, begun on August 23 and so far completed in fifteen days that the dedicatory exercises

391. "Ytinerario," August 9, 1598. This document only tells of Oñate's progress as far as San Ildefonso, but it is safe to assume that he went on to San Juan where the construction of an irrigation ditch was begun on the 11. This canal was for the "city of San Francisco." Fifteen hundred Indians gathered to assist in buliding it. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1598.

392. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1598.

393. When Oñate went ahead "to pacify" the land he had sent Zubia back with a supply of maize. Oñate also found it necessary to return to the army, but went forward again into New Mexico and reached his advance party on June 12. "Ytinerario," June 12, 1598. Captain Velasco said that they were out of provisions while still fifty leagues from the first settlements. He further states that they were in such extremity of hunger that it was difficult for the governor to go ahead and bring back the maize. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. But it should be observed that he wrote at a time when great efforts were being put forth to discredit the entire enterprise.

394. "Ytinerario," July 4, 1598; August 18, 1598.

could be observed September 8. It was finished in the early part of October.³⁹⁵ The occasion was a festive one, and in their amusement the Spanish gallants demonstrated how much of the crusading spirit still coursed in their veins. To honor the event what else was appropriate but a sham battle, the soldiers being divided into opposing groups labeled Moors and Christians. The latter fought on horseback with lances and shields, while the former were on foot and used muskets.³⁹⁶ The spectacle must indeed have been a novel one for the Indians.

A part of the ceremony of the day included the Indians who had been assembled from far and near for the event. Oñate met them in the kiva, accompanied by his officers and the missionaries, and there he expounded the same ideas as already presented to their brothers at Santo Domingo. They must swear obedience to Father Martínez and Oñate, the representatives of God and King Philip, and obey the new superiors. Thus their souls would be saved and earthly happiness insured. All agreed to these conditions with the customary ceremony.³⁹⁷

During the observances at San Juan Baptista the missionaries were assigned to their various fields of labor.³⁹⁸ Fray Francisco de Zamora was to have the provinces of Picuries and Taos and Father San Miguel went to Pecos. Both had been accompanied to their pueblos by the father commissary. Father Rosas was established in the province of the Queres, called Hores, to minister to San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochití and others. Father Lugo was placed at Jemez, Father Corchado at Sia, with authority over the pueblos to the west, Ácoma, Zuñi and Moqui, and Father Claros was sent to the province of the Teguas. At San Juan there remained Father Cristóbal de Salazar, together

395. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1598; Oñate to Monterey, March 22, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 215.

396. "Ytinerario," September 8, 1598.

397. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 108-117; "Ytinerario," September 9, 1598.

398. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1598; Account of how the padres of San Francisco took charge of the provinces discovered in New Mexico, September 8, 1598. Bolton MS.

with two lay brothers, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura and Fray Pedro. The father commissary also stayed at the capital when not with Oñate or on excursions to other pueblos.³⁹⁹

Dissension in the Camp. At no time had Oñate found it an easy task to maintain discipline among his adventurous followers, nor did his burden prove any lighter in New Mexico itself. In the latter part of August, 1598, a serious disturbance was discovered when forty-five captains and soldiers, about a third of the force, formed a plan of escaping to New Spain. Oñate reported that the rebellious soldiers and colonists were disgusted with the whole enterprise because they had not immediately found quantities of silver on the ground and because they had not been allowed to maltreat the natives or despoil them of their possessions. It was a bad situation. Two captains and a soldier, among them Captain Aguilar, said to be the guilty plotters, were arrested, but the army and missionaries were able to persuade Oñate that the matter should be dealt with leniently. They were accordingly released. To minimize the gravity of the affair it was said that they were not traitors, but had merely been planning a plundering expedition.⁴⁰⁰

Just a few days after this episode another of the same kind was discovered. It is evident that the fires of dissatisfaction were still smoldering, for they now burst into flame once more. Four soldiers fled from the camp with a large number of horses in violation of numerous proclamations. Immediately Captains Villagr  and M rquez with some companions were sent in pursuit with orders to overtake and punish them.⁴⁰¹ This proved a difficult task, and it was not till two weeks later that two of the fleeing horse thieves were caught near Santa B rbara.

399. "Ytinerario," September 15-23, 1598; Villagr , *Historia*, I, 96; Obediencia y vasallaje   su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 113-115.

400. O ate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214; "Ytinerario," August 20-21, 1598; Villagr , *Historia*, I, 88.

401. O ate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214-215; Villagr , *Historia*, I, 88-89.

They were promptly hanged. The others narrowly escaped capture. The severe punishment inflicted on these men was one of the charges on which Oñate and the captains concerned were later brought to trial.⁴⁰² Having fulfilled their duty, Villagr  and his companions visited Santa B rbara before setting out on the return journey. There they wrote to the viceroy of what had occurred.⁴⁰³

402. *Ibid.*, 89; *Testimonio de las sentencias*. . . . May 16, 1614, A. G. I., 58-8-17.

403. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 89; O ate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214-215.

THE INFLUENCE OF WEAPONS ON NEW MEXICO HISTORY

F. S. Curtis, Jr.

Of the many factors which have brought about the events we call history, the influence of weapons has perhaps received the least attention. The history of New Mexico, as it happens, furnishes rather an interesting picture of both the development of weapons and certain very curious phases of the effect of that development upon human events.

The original inhabitants of New Mexico, of course, present a complete and perfect example of the weapons of prehistoric man, and here, longer than anywhere else, these primitive weapons continue to exist and be used in constant association with the latest products of the armorer's invention. The pre-Spanish period, moreover, presents an interesting historical problem which can be given, in the present state of our knowledge, nothing better than a hypothetical solution, but for which the factor of weapons can offer an interesting and reasonably probable hypothesis.

The problem itself is simple: if, as certain archaeologists assert, the Pueblo civilization was declining at the Spanish Conquest, what was the cause of the decline? There is little evidence of loss of energy or population through epidemics. The migrations of which we know were merely from one site to another within the Pueblo area. Religion made no demands for human sacrifice. Agriculture does not seem to have suffered any really formidable calamities, so that continued famine would not seem to be the cause. The architecture and arrangement of the towns seems to have been most appropriate for the defensive tactics which had for centuries protected the Pueblos from their marauding enemies. What, then, is a reasonable solution? The one which occurs most readily to a student of the mechani-

cal side of history is that one or more of the hostile tribes had developed a bow of greater range and accuracy than that of the Pueblos, and were thus enabled to overwhelm the weaker towns and to reduce the man-power of the stronger ones to a point where the production of food and the maintenance of security occupied so much of the population that there was not time for cultural development or even the preservation of the culture of former times.

The most obvious instance of the effect of weapons on the history of the state is, naturally, the Spanish Conquest. In the period between 1540 and 1599 we see small bodies of Spaniards roaming at will over the entire Southwest, and finally assuming mastery of an enormous empire, all in the face of an incredibly disproportionate native population, whose love of liberty and whose courage in battle were inferior to those of no race on earth. Superiority of weapons, and that alone, made such exploits a possibility. It was the Stone Age against the Age of Metal and of Gunpowder, and the Stone Age had no recourse but submission or flight. Against stone-tipped arrows and lances, obsidian daggers, stone-headed clubs, and the propelling force of the human arm alone, the Spaniards opposed steel-tipped arrows and lances, steel swords and daggers, and the propelling force of gunpowder. Against the buffalo-hide shield the Spaniard could match complete armor of steel, and the defensive powers of the two are comparable only in ridicule. It is true, of course, that the Spanish armor could be pierced at sufficiently short range - Villagr a's account of the death of Juan Zald var assures us of that much - and it is also true that it could be crushed if the wearer ventured to points where great rocks could be dropped upon him, but for every Spaniard so wounded, there were five hundred Indians struck down for lack of adequate defense against the Spanish weapons. It is also true that the Spanish fire-arms - wheellocks or matchlocks, as they were - were uncertain of operation, fearfully inaccurate,

and capable of no more than one or two shots per minute, while such cannon as were capable of transportation were of small size and little real use, but against such weapons as the Indians had they were enough, and the fact was only too clear to the Indians, so that in all the period of conquest we find but four important battles recorded. The first two of these, Coronado's battles at Zuñi and Tiguex, were sufficient proof of Spanish prowess to subdue all opposition for more than fifty years. The third, the first of the fights at Acoma, was an Indian triumph, but due far more to Spanish carelessness and mismanagement than to any other factor. The hopes it had raised, however, were quickly crushed in the terrific three-day battle in which Vicente Zaldívar, with no more than eighty men, not only avenged his brother, and restored the prestige of Spain, but reduced the population of Acoma to a bare six hundred, and from that time onward for eighty-three years the Pueblo Indian remained at peace. Courage he had, in abundance - the fight at Acoma was one of the most furious and most gallant of the whole history of America - but courage against superior machinery of war is of little use, and the Pueblo Indian was wise enough to face the fact.

The nomadic Indians, on the other hand, furnished a problem which the Spaniard never solved in full, and one which took the American many years of the very most strenuous effort to settle permanently. Faced with the problem of surrender or flight, he chose flight, for unlike the Pueblo, he had nothing to lose, no home to defend, and not even the desire for a fixed place of residence. War was his industry and his diversion, and the Spaniard meant no more than a new enemy who had to be dealt with more cautiously than the old. To the Spaniard this type of enemy was a really serious problem. To subdue him was impossible, for the heavily-armed Spaniard could not, either afoot or on horseback, come to grips with an enemy who would not wait for him, and who could escape him nine times out of ten, because of superior speed. To settle over

wide areas in the face of such an enemy was equally impossible, for his sudden raids, delivered without the slightest warning and always against the least protected, gave no chance for defense or for battle. The only solution, and that which the Spanish adopted, was much the same as the Pueblos had chosen centuries before, the concentration of population around a few strong and well-defended towns where the superiority of their weapons could be used for defense at least. Here, then, we find the reason why New Mexico remained so long a region of towns instead of farms, a region where the gap between rich and poor was so wide, where peonage and illiteracy flourished, and where feudalism outlived its time because the necessity which created feudalism in Europe was still alive in America.

A further (and a very wise) measure of the Spanish government was a law, couched in stringent terms, and carried out with the utmost care, forbidding the sale of weapons to the Indians. That this law was really effective may be seen from two instances where it did not apply, one the massacre at Tomé by Comanches who had secured firearms, the other, the terrible defeat of Don Pedro de Villasúr in the battle on the Platte River in 1719, where the opposing forces - Indians and a few Frenchmen - were fully equipped with firearms, and from which only six men returned, a force representing over half the garrison of Santa Fé having been left dead on the field of battle.

The Pueblo Revolution is a further and an impressive exhibit in the case of the weapon in history for several reasons. The last great effort of the Pueblo Indian against the domination of the Spaniard, there can be little doubt that a large part of the determination to revolt came from the gradual acquisition, piece by piece, of such small store of weapons as gave ground for the feeling that the advantage held by the Spaniard was at least reduced to the point where a favorable outcome could reasonably be expected. The early results, moreover, were quite in accordance with first expectations, and the hearts of the Pueblos, as well as

their hands, must have been greatly strengthened by the first tide of success, which had overwhelmed every settlement in New Mexico except Ysleta and Santa Fé as well as placing in the hands of the Indians a supply of nearly three hundred hackbusses, not to mention swords, lances, and other steel weapons. That the Spaniard should have been so stricken is due to no fault of the weapons they possessed, but rather to that wise planning of the Indians which gave no opportunity for resistance. No time was given for the Spaniards to arm; no chance offered for one town to assist another - save for the expedition of García from Ysleta to Jemez - and only the strong points of Santa Fé and Ysleta withstood the storm.

That these two should have been able to survive the first shock, and later to remove to a place of safety through a country swarming with the enemy, is due partly to their weapons and partly to the reputation which the Spaniard, armed and prepared for battle, had made in the past. At the Siege of Santa Fé Governor Otermín with a bare 155 men fit for service (and of these, to quote his own records, "only thirty-six having complete armor, and the most part afoot, and with bad or broken hackbusses, and without even leathern jackets for their protection"), defended a total population of 2500 souls against the attack of more than three thousand fighting men, the figures themselves giving a clear picture of the great weight that armament cast in to the Spanish side of the scale.

Between the Revolution and the Reconquest we find an interesting division of mind taking place among the victorious Indians. With some the victories of the Revolution seem to have had such influence that they felt themselves invincible. Others, however, saw most clearly the failure to destroy the Spaniards under Otermín and García, and realized that armed opposition to the Spaniards in arms was as hopeless as ever. Those of the first opinion, regardless of their shortage of ammunition and lack of skill with the arms they had acquired, remained in their

towns before the expedition of Otermín and Cruzate, and the result was exactly what might have been expected. Otermín took Ysleta and Cruzate took Zía, each with little loss, but with terrible slaughter of the enemy. For either governor to proceed further in the work of Reconquest, however, was impossible because of a number of factors of which not the least was the course followed by those wiser Pueblos, who, realizing the futility of open combat, borrowed the tactics of their enemies of the Apachería, left their towns for the recesses of the mountains, and harassed the Spaniards by sudden raids upon small foraging parties, by stampeding their horse-herds, and by a thousand other stratagems each insignificant in itself, but helping to swell a total that barred out the Spaniards as effectively as an actual defeat.

The inherent nature of the Pueblo, however, coupled with his native enemies, soon brought matters back to their former status. As a roving nomad, even though his roving was confined within very small limits, the Pueblo was not a success, for he was neither able to make himself comfortable, nor to repel the attacks of the truly nomadic tribes, without the assistance of his adobe village; and it was but a short time before he returned to his accustomed dwelling, prepared, for the most part, to submit peaceably when the Spaniard returned, exchanging a precarious liberty for a certain safety and relative comfort. At the coming of De Vargas some few made one last effort at resistance, but Santa Fé and the pueblo on the Potrero Viejo were soon taken, with the usual terrific losses on the part of the Indians, and only the kindness of De Vargas - perhaps supplemented by a shortage of ammunition - saved the refugees on the Mesa of San Ildefonso from a similar fate. So, then, the Reconquest ended, and the problem of Spanish settlement had been finally solved, with superiority of weapons aiding in no small degree to the solution.

The problem of expansion in the face of roving tribes was, as already stated, one which the Spaniards never en-

tirely settled, and in the hundred and fifty-odd years between the Reconquest and the Civil War the failure to settle it kept New Mexico in virtually a feudal state of civilization, the feudal parallel being carried to its fullest extent by the great land-grants made to men and families whose reputation as Indian fighters stood highest.

In this same area at least two great occasions arose on which superiority of weapons might have played a great part, but in both cases a recourse to arms was avoided by purely diplomatic means, one instance being the Texas-Santa Fé Expedition, in which the astute conduct of Governor Armijo avoided a clash where Texas rifles might have altered New Mexico history to a remarkable extent, and the other the capture of New Mexico by General Kearney, in which the same Armijo was - well, persuaded - that resistance to the well-armed troops of the United States was profitless. A view in miniature of what might have happened on the two occasions is offered by a number of minor incidents in which the rifle contended against the smooth-bore, and among these Lobato's defeat at the hands of "Snively's Avengers" and the fight at Turley's Mill during the Taos Rebellion are worthy of mention. Lobato's battle was of short duration, but of some effect, his small force, though nearly equal to Snively's, being gobbled up with such celerity that General Armijo, who had intended to destroy Snively with the main body of his troops, suddenly decided that Santa Fé was a far better military position than the one he then occupied, and translated his decision into action with commendable promptness. In the Turley's Mill fight eight men armed with rifles and well supplied with ammunition held out for two days and a night against a force of rebels amounting to well over five hundred, and at the end of that period, their ammunition being exhausted, three of the eight fought their way out.

The Taos Rebellion as a whole furnishes further proof, if such is needed, of the wisdom of Armijo in refusing to meet the forces of Kearney, and illustrates the ability of

the American forces to compel submission through superiority of armament. In the three battles of La Cañada de Santa Cruz, Embudo, and the Pueblo de Taos the enemy invariably occupied a superior position, and probably outnumbered the Americans actually engaged yet in all the enemy was defeated completely and remarkably quickly, since the actual time consumed by all three seems to have been very little more than four hours, most of which was consumed at the battle at the Pueblo.

By no means to be forgotten is the fact that the commerce of the Santa Fé Trail, which not only aided greatly in the financial support of the state at a time when such support was a vital necessity, but also called the attention of the United States most strongly to the Southwest, was maintained and made possible by the rifle. Here was the beginning of the solution of the problem of the roving Indian, for despite his invariable willingness to try to capture some part of the immense wealth that rolled across the plains under his very nose, the rifles of the waggoners and their escort rendered his efforts useless in all but a minimum of cases, and these cases in which the number of travellers - and consequently the booty obtained - was so small as to make the cost quite disproportionate to the returns.

Except for questions of mere probability the Civil War in New Mexico offers little from the viewpoint of this paper. That the Southern forces operating in New Mexico must have been better armed than the majority of the Confederate Army we know, because the surrender of General Twiggs in Texas, and the capture of Forts Fillmore and Stanton, of Major Isaac Lynde's command, and of the Depot at Albuquerque necessarily placed in their hands large quantities of the small arms and artillery of the Regular Army, so that the troops under Canby, including the New Mexico Militia, could have had very little superiority in regard to weapons, if, indeed, they possessed any. The Colorado Volunteers, however, may well have had some of

the newer type of rifle which the Federal Government had adopted in '61 and '62, as they were equipped at Fort Union, a point in relatively direct communication with the centers of manufacture, and one which the government was making every effort to supply in expectation of an impending attack. Further plausibility is gained for such an idea from the fact that when the Colorado troops met Sibley's forces in the battles near Apache Cañon the triumphant advance of the Confederates not only met its first serious check, but was turned back into a retreat that very soon took on the aspects of a rout, ending all possibility of a conquest of New Mexico by the Confederacy.

Another question, however, immediately took the place of this one, and continued to occupy the energies of both State and Federal governments for nearly twenty-five years of practically continuous effort. Even before the defeat of Sibley the concentration of Federal troops had left many outlying points undefended, and the hostile tribes had been quick to take advantage of the situation. After the menace of the Confederate invasion had been removed the National forces in New Mexico were reduced to a minimum, and the hostiles became even bolder, with the result that the New Mexico troops and such units as the War Department had left in the state were almost constantly occupied by punitive expeditions to all points of the compass. Nor did the surrender at Appomatox mean peace for New Mexico, for though the end of the Civil War enabled the government to send aid with a liberal hand, and though that aid was continued until the necessity was over and was sent at an expenditure that seems incredible, the fighting continued sporadically until the very threshold of the 20th century. The causes for so prolonged a struggle are naturally many and varied, among them the isolation of the field of action, the extreme difficulty of the terrain, and the extraordinary military abilities of the enemy (the Apaches in particular having proved themselves perhaps the most efficient body of fighters the world has ever seen) but the

factor which most concerns us at present is that of firearms, and in this particular situation the firearms factor functioned largely as both a cause and a solution.

In the years following the American occupation the hostile tribes first began to get a supply of modern weapons, and from that time until the end this supply was constantly on the increase. The Government itself, at various times, issued guns to Indians on Reservations, troubling itself very little over the fact that the Reservation Indian of today was only too likely to be the hostile of tomorrow, and that the possession of a practical firearm was of itself a strong temptation to the warpath. The gun-runner flourished like the green bay-tree, and both his mode of life and his occasional death at the hands of his customers were regarded as uproariously funny by the average settler. That the arms furnished the Indians, whether by Government or gun-runner, were obsolete is quite true; the Indian got most of his really good weapons by capture; but after two hundred and fifty-odd years of fighting the white man and studying the tactics best adapted for his ruin the Indian did not need any advantage in weapons to make trouble. Any gun that would go off with reasonable regularity was quite sufficient for Indian purposes, and was more than good enough from the point of view of settler and soldier.

With the Indian possessed of modern arms, then, in addition to his other military equipment, the white man was really hard pressed, and for his defense he called upon every resource he could use, both military and mechanical. Of the military men we hear much. The names of Carson, Chavez, Crook, Howard, Eugene A. Carr, and a dozen others, are familiar to every student of the Indian Wars, and almost everyone has some idea as to the identity of the men named. The inventors, however, are far different. The Kawkins, Christian Sharp, Tyler Henry, Winchester, Hotchkiss, Colt, Remington, Spencer and Lee - some few of these names, perhaps, suggest great corporations and the making of money, none the making of history, yet had it not been for the inventive genius of these

men and many more in the making of ever better weapons of ever greater range, accuracy and rapidity of fire, our state might still be struggling to attain domestic peace and security with the goal not yet in sight. The hours spent in the workshop by a few men have shortened a hundred for one the hours spent on the battlefield by thousands of their fellow-citizens, and throughout the whole of New Mexico's history there has been standing, far off in the background, unseen and unheeded, the grimy figure of a man with the clever fingers of the mechanic and the dreamy eyes of the inventor, watching that history work out its course, its tools the weapons he has fashioned.

PO-SÉ

By the late Adolph F. Bandelier.¹

Looking eastward from the railroad which follows along the western bank of the Rio Grande del Norte, near the southern ending of the valley of La Joya, and half between the Tegua Indian village of Santa Clara and that of San Ildefonso, may be seen the round-topped, mesa-like mountain which the Teguas call Tun-go Ping (The Basket Mountain). The native Mexican people have named this mountain, La Mesilla (The Little Mesa); while the Americans - always practical - call it merely The Round Mountain. Its barren top, conspicuous in its isolation and in its somewhat more symmetrical proportions, rises considerably above the eastern sand hills. The river, winding about its western base, flows almost beneath its overhanging hills, and one must be a hardy climber indeed who would attempt to scale them from the river side. Only from the southeastern corner may one ascend with safety.

Once up, the top shows a flat, ashy surface containing some fifteen or twenty acres, strewn here and there with stones, some of which, from their regular shapes, appear to have been used in the erection of house walls; scattered about are many broken pieces of pottery, some yet showing the broken lines of the old decorations, some of them glazed, and some of the class of vessels that were used for cooking; and a keen-eyed searcher may find as a reward for his patience, or as a memento of his visit, still a few arrow heads which have been washed up by an occasional rain. Along the edge of the top, flush with the sides, rude walls, parts of them still intact, may be observed, built up, as some

1. A tale of San Ildefonso pueblo, forty odd years ago, left by Bandelier in manuscript and presented to the Historical Society by Mrs. Samuel Eldodt, Chamita, New Mexico.

suppose, to make more difficult the ascent of the hostiles, or to prevent, may be, the falling over its precipitous sides of some careless dweller above. All these evidences of domestic life, of defensive and offensive warfare, lead the fanciful to conclude that a permanent inhabitancy existed long since, or, at least, its dry and deserted top may have been used as a place of retreat from stronger forces than the ancient dwellers in the valley below were able to muster. But there is yet another theory which may account for the fallen ruins on the top, the broken pottery, the arrow heads and the wall remnants. The following account not only seems to give color to the theory, but rather seems to confirm the argument made that the mountain was one of the numerous Indian shrines with which the country abounds.

-I-

It was the middle of February in one of the years of the earlier 80's that Dr. Rand and myself set up our camp in San Ildefonso. The gentle winds falling into the valley from the snowy tops of the Santa Fe and the Jemez ranges were warmed by the increasing rays of the sun rapidly returning northward, making, the doctor observed in his wise and positive way, "Just the proper mixture in the air to counteract disease germs".

I was convalescing from a long sickness, and, in truth, from the very first day I began to grow strong and take a deep interest in the doctor's investigations. His energy and zeal, always bubbling and stewing with enthusiasm, infected me and I became a willing assistant in many of his projects. We had ransacked the dimly written record books of the old church and made some copies of what the doctor declared to be valuable matter; we had quizzed the Indian villagers, buying our way when persuasion was ineffective; our incursions among the cliff and mesa ruins with pick and spade had added many a curious relic of the dead past to our impedimenta; while our daily associations and nightly juntas had made of us tolerable experts in the peculiar

inflections of the Tegua language. So occupied were we that April had passed before we thought of moving.

"The middle of May is an ideal time for Rocky Mountain travel for one hundred and one reason", the doctor replied pompously and finally, when I had suggested a transfer and a change of activities.

And I, not ill pleased at his dictum, continued to amuse myself with old Po-se, taking care to show no greater proficiency in Indian lore than the doctor was able to acquire. Now, Dr. Rand was a very capable physician, my elder by some fifteen years, and the best-natured and most open-hearted man alive, and, notwithstanding his disposition to exercise a sort of paternalism and show his superiority I nearly always gave in to his theories and rarely criticised his conclusions. Because he had traveled much and had spent a short time once before in the valley, I easily looked over his pride - almost vanity - in his accomplishments and in his ability to learn new things. If his peculiarities became tiresome I made excuse, without offense, to make excursions on my own account. At night we would meet again, the best of friends, to compare the labors and pastimes of the day.

But not a drop of rain had fallen since early in March; towards the latter end of that month the winds seemed to gather force, and in April the days were mere repetitions of unchanging wind storms with every particle of moisture squeezed out; then, because of the almost vertical rays of the sun the winds, blowing from the southwest, became hot blasts through the lengthening days; they hardly ceased at night; they parched the whole valley's expanse, and, rushing along the mountain sides and up the short cañons, browned the vegetation and dried up the little cañon streams almost to their very sources; the Rio Grande itself had become a mere brook as its scant and shallow flow found way through the burning wastes of sand. At length, about the middle of May, the forests on the lower mesas and along the sides of the mountains caught fire, and this

disaster fast dried up the little remaining water and pasturage; by day those fires appeared in the distance literally a "Pillar of Cloud" from the smoke; by night, a "Pillar of Light" from the flames; yet there was no promise of good because of them; rather, did the people stand aghast as they gazed upon the far off conflagrations, knowing that the fires promised present as well as future evil. Thus did the last days of May pass, and the first of June - a Sunday - was ushered in by the same irritating, nerves-racking wind, dry and parching heat.

The wind on that Sunday, as it had for a day or two before, came not in gusts as usual, but the blow was straight, steady and hard. Towards evening, disgusted and nervous with the never-ceasing sounds and the flying dust and sand, I fell asleep. Sometime afterwards I awoke, disturbed by the positive voice of the doctor outside. As I lay listening, I saw and wondered at a curious curtain of smoke which hung in the tent doorway. I realized that it came from the doctor's cigar, but why it should fill the doorway and become a screen, upon which fell the prismatic rays of the setting sun as they filtered through some torn holes in the tent walls, seemed more like some fantastic dream. Musing upon the strange spectacle of the smoke curtain, I listened for the wind sounds. They had ceased. I bounded up and rushed outside to enjoy once more mountain air unstirred and unmixed with flying dust and sand.

The doctor's companion was old Po-se and they were good naturedly disputing over the signs of the probable weather. Their language was singularly different. In the main - each understanding the other - it was the language of the old Conquistadores. The pronunciation, as well as the grammatical construction of the white man's speech, was wretched and interspersed now and then with an English word, more for the purpose of advising that English was his native tongue, and, with the occasional use of a Tegua word, to show that he was acquainted in some measure with the Indian's own tongue; still, curious and faulty

as was his use of the language, he spoke without any hesitation. The Indian's use of the Spanish, while much more grammatical, was quite as peculiar; although he made no use of his natural tongue, as if it were a sacrilege, a native Mexican would have said, "It is the accent of a Tegua". I shall translate, since their words may not be intelligibly written.

The Doctor, dogmatically, "No, Juan" — Juan was the Indian's baptismal, or Spanish name — "No rain yet. Tomorrow, more wind. When it is full moon, then, may be, yes". And the Indian quite as wise in his own conceits: "The moon has now but five days. It is the growing (crescente - first) quarter; when she has six, may be seven, then will come the rain".

He stepped to the corner of the tent and made use of that peculiar gesture with the mouth by putting out his lips and indicated where the crescent hung over the western mountains growing brighter with the fast fading light of the sun.

"The moon", he calmly went on, "you see is red, like the fire, the other moon was white all the time —"

"It is the smoke," broke in the doctor, "from the burning forests through—"

The Indian paid no attention to the interruption but doggedly continued: "—but that moon sometimes is going to make a big lie. It is not the moon, no — no, sir! It is that wind. The wind tells no lie."

Just then we heard the slow beat of an Indian drum and the low, even chant of two or three male voices in unison, the sounds coming from the Estufa (council chamber). I thought I detected in the imperfect light a contemptuous smile on the Indian's face as he turned towards the sounds and uttered with something of bitterness in his tones:

"Even the people know when to deceive. Now they make the big dance and then it will rain". He laughed a low, bitter laugh and added, as he turned toward us, "But some day that rain will come too fast and too much".

His last words contained a real prophecy which I recalled afterwards. At the time, I thought of them only as the mutterings of a disappointed man.

The doctor had gone within and impatiently asked about supper.

"Going to spend the night at the Estufa?" I asked.

"Yes, I am going to see the whole works this time. Tomorrow takes place the Rain Dance and tonight is the last of the preparation."

The Indian still stood, gazing into the west. I asked him if he would come over and talk after the doctor had gone.

In his own tongue he answered me: "Behind Ku-si ping" (the highest of the western range) "the moon will fall there, then shall I arrive."

Thus did he often dignify me when he dropped his Spanish and used the Tegua dialect. Speaking with the doctor he always used the white man's language; but I was his younger brother (ti-u); therefore would he use the words that an older brother (pa-di) Might speak to his younger brother. Without turning, nor saying more, he brushed aside the low bushes growing near and went away, silently, with no more noise than a cat might have made.

The doctor came outside and looked around. Not seeing the Indian, he exclaimed: "What in the world have you done with Juan? It looks as though he might have been swallowed up by that moon of his."

"Po-se is a pretty good type; he comes and goes silently", I replied. "What a pity, doctor, that he does not get along better with his fellows!"

In his usual, over-wise manner, the doctor answered: "So always with tyrants — and men. He belongs to the minority; those who are best equipped for counselors are not always in the council chamber. He is too wise to rule. His character, also, accounts for the name he has among his people".

"I have never heard that".

"The Indians are too polite to insult *your* friend in *your* presence; but to me they often call him Chu-ge. The word is a little stronger than the Spanish, brujo; a little worse than our English, wizard."

After supper the doctor bade me good night and went towards the Estufa leaving me to think over the strange character of my Indian friend. Many a tramp had we taken together, many a story had he told me of the old days, much of the old customs and much of his peculiar tongue. A diplomat in his way, he professed to believe in the changes that were advocated by the new teachers, yet he still held tenaciously to much that was old, and I concluded that even his weak advocacy of the white man's improvements would change if only his faction could count a working majority, for no race is a greater stickler for a majority rule than that of the Indian; yet he had a profound suspicion, in his crude way, of the "Square Deal" so long as the pack remained in the hands of his enemies. So he preferred secession to submission.

In other ways Po-se fully satisfied my earlier formed ideals of an Indian hero. He was large for an Indian, but a giant among the Pueblos; his massive shoulders, his large hands and feet, his straight, wiry form, his bold, aquiline face, made a figure to be picked out and set apart from a race that is fast deteriorating.

-II-

As I sat waiting outside in the unaccustomed stillness of the night air, the monotonous beat of the drum, the weird chant of the singers, the regular stamping of the dancers' feet upon the resonant floor of the estufa — the sounds muffled by the thick walls of the building — produced a drowsiness and I was wishing that I had not asked my Indian friend's company. I began to frame, half un-

consciously, some kind of an excuse to get rid of him upon his arrival, when, of a sudden, I was startled by a dark shadow, lengthened to uncommon and apparitious proportions, just in front of where I sat. Looking up I saw Po-se approaching and several feet away, but in the opposite direction from which I expected him. He was in a direct line with the almost disappearing rays of the moon and I wondered if he might not have stood guard at some safe distance to be sure of nature's time piece.

Advancing, he entered the light space thrown out by the tent lamp beyond the darker shade wherein I sat. I could not but admire the graceful, blanketed figure, erect and moving in a direct line with a quick but noiseless tread as of some animal of prey.

Fully satisfied that Po-se had waited beyond the tent for the appointed hour, as soon as he had seated himself upon the ground I went into the cook's tent and brought him out a heaping plate of food. My surmise had either been correct, or he had met with scant cheer at home, for he ate ravenously.

The meal seemed an effective lubricant to his tongue, for, as he slowly rolled his cigarette, he cautiously asked, "Ke-ma (friend), is the *médico* (physician) still gone?"

Now the head gate leading to an Indian's information need not be opened too wide at the beginning. I answered carelessly, "Yes, nearly an hour."

"He will arrive when?"

"In the morning when the day breaks, he told me."

He was silent for several minutes while the smoke curled above his head and floated off into the darkness. Then, like one feeling his way over an unfamiliar trail, he asked, "He has not talked to you about the trouble between me and the people?"

"Yes, but he has heard only the other side; maybe he knows not all the truth. Tell me your side and I will listen. Then I shall know the truth."

"I will. But first I will tell you of the dance which

we make when it is very dry and then you will understand."

He began in that strange monotone, peculiar to relators and orators of his race. He used the Spanish which I best understood, yet now and then, as if he found the foreign tongue unworthy, he spoke a word or a phrase in the Tegua.

"Years ago, just after the planting, when the Rain Priest (Po-a-tun-go), and those with him, had prayed long for the rain and had done all else to bring down the water from the clouds that blew quickly away, and when the Rain Priest saw that it was very dry and more yet of sadness would come unless the good rain should fall; because the Guan-sa-be (The Navajo)² had set fire to the mountain sides so that the deer (Pa-i) and the elk ()³ and the little rabbit (Pu) and the big rabbit (Quong) had run away and the rattle snakes ()⁴ had gone far down into the earth — for all these the people knew it could not rain. Then they heard that their friends who dwelt beyond the eastern mountains had gone far away to the great river and all the buffalo (Ko) had gone with them. That made the people very sad because their friends would not come in the time of the ripe corn; they would not bring the good meat nor the skins that were warm because of the long wool, since there would be no meal nor corn to pay for them.

"Then the Po-a-tun-go went away for three days and when he came again he called the people and said what must be done for he had found out the way. So he chose all the young men that were of him, who had no women, and taught them a new dance. On the first day they must eat no food at all and for six days more they might eat only the food which the Po-a-tun-go brought down from the top of the Estufa which the women placed there; for none of the dancers might see a woman nor come close to one. On

2. Harrington, *Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*, 107, gives the spelling, "Wan-sa-ve."

3. Bandelier left blank. The Tewa term "Tá" is given by Junius Henderson, *Ethnozology of the Tewa Indians*, p. 15 — editor.

4. *Ibid*, p. 51 "Qw ae' npu."

the eighth day they must go to the flat rock which is on the south side of Tun-go Ping, and there they must dance all the day long, or until it might rain; first they would sing the song and beat the drum slowly and not too loud; afterwards, louder would they beat the drum and faster would they sing the song and the dancers would go very fast. Towards the evening the snakes would come out from beneath the mountain and because it had been very dry these had gone very far down.

"Thus they did according to the way the Po-a-tun-go had been told. And the young men who danced saw not the face of any woman during all of the eight days, they made not one mistake and obeyed all that their father, the Po-a-tun-go, had told them to do, for they looked into all of the six ways and threw meal Up (Ma-ka-no,) Down (Non-so-oíno-ge), East (Tom-pe), West (Tsom-pe), South A-kom-pe), North (Pim-pe).

"From the top of Tun-go Ping the women and the men who did not dance nor sing, looked down and saw that the dance was good and they were very glad; but the women covered the face that none who danced might see; when these brought up water the men would let it down over the side that the young men might drink and not fail. Then came the rain and it was good for all the people, and the snakes, because they came out and brought the rain, they took care of and made for them the little room by the flat rock. So always when it is dry for a long time the people make the Great Dance, that the snakes may not go away.

"Yet now the Po-a-tun-go is a bad man and does what the O-ge-ke (Winter Cacique) tells him, and when the people dance they make many mistakes; they do not sing the song in the old way nor dance as they should and soon they will have no more the dance because they are very bad."

The old man paused and I asked so as not to offend, "Will it not be better when all the people have forgotten the dance?"

But he replied, using that peculiar Tegua word expressing strong doubt, holding up both hands and shrugging up his shoulders, "Ga-ha!"

Then I, thinking to make an impression, argued, "O, my friend, when your people think less of the dance, they will have more time to think of work and all things else which help you to live better and have more! For will not the rain come, or not come? Is not that God's business anyhow?"

-III-

Po-se gave no heed to my little sermon and I thought at the time that I had only wasted words; but afterwards I found that the meaning had found lodgement in his crude mind.

He went on:

"Now I will tell of the trouble and I will tell you the truth. The time of the year was the same as now, and, as the mountain fires burn now, in the same way they burned then.

"The governor then was my father who asked the Po-a-tun-go what he was doing. That one said he had done everything else, but only the Great Dance on the flat rock must be done.

"Then my father cried from the top of the Estufa and told the people to wait and be good, for the Po-a-tun-go was going to make the dance and then it would surely rain.

"I was very glad when I heard the words because I am of the Kai-dge (one of the two divisions of the Teguas)⁵ and at that time I was very swift and strong. No other knew the song nor the dance as well as I, and the Po-a-tun-go liked me better than all the others because I obeyed all his words. He was very good to me and taught me more than all the others. Qua-sang-wi was his wife and a bad woman. She always helped Kai-e, her son, who was as bad

5. The "summer people." Harrington (*Ethnogeography*, p. 78) gives a different phonetic spelling — editor.

as his mother. The Po-a-tun-go was always afraid of them, and he was almost as strong and swift as I, but not quite, but because he was the Rain Priest he could not quarrel with them and make them obey; for that is the way with the Po-a-tun-go; he must not quarrel but must always do his duty and be good to all the people. Kai-e was of the Qua-di (the other division of the Teguas)* like his mother and he was almost as strong and swift as I, but not quite, for I beat him always and that made him feel sad and his mother hated me.

"When the time came to make ready for the dance I went to Tset-ha, — she was the one that all the people had agreed should be my wife — and I told her not to carry any water only in the early morning, for in the evening I would have to watch from the top of the Estufa. Then I could make no mistake and forget and look upon her face. Tset-ha was always good and obeyed me in every thing: so she said she would do as I said, but because it was very dry and hot they would need water the day before the dance, and only on that day in the evening she would bring water. And I said it was good and surely I would not look on the last day. Then when I had obeyed all the days and stood the last day and looked long upon the place of the flat rock, I felt glad because we could make the good dance the next day.

"While I stood and thought no evil, I heard Tset-ha go along the pathway and she said 'Na-di' (I am here to those who stood near and I knew her voice and step. But Kai-e saw it all, for his mother had told him how to do. There he stood in the way and when he saw my own pass he caught her sabina (the head cloth); she cried out and took hold of the jar that it might not fall and then the cloth fell from her face. When I heard her voice I forgot and looked; and because her sabina had fallen away I saw her face.

"When the people saw how I had been fooled they laughed but Tset-ha ran to her house because she was

6. The "winter people." For variant spelling, see *ibid.* p. 76.

afraid. I saw how it was and I said to Kai-e, 'Some day shall I pay you; the longer you wait, the more shall I owe.'

"Then because I had made a mistake I could not dance; only could I help in the place of the snakes and sing. And when the day of the dance came and the others had danced all the day long and had done everything else, it did not rain for a long time and the people met and said I was to blame. They said I could not have Tset-ha, but that Kai-e should have her. They shut me up in the Estufa for a long time and not even my father would see me.

"Tset-ha then said she did not like me but that she liked Kai-e better, and in that way she fooled them and they let me out. When they let me out the rains had come and the people said they would have a big feast and then they would give my own to Kai-e. But before they could do that I met Tset-ha in the willows by the river, and then we laughed a long time because we were going to fool all the people.

"She said, 'Let us run away to Te-ma-ge (Cochiti) and they will not know; there is where lives my two cousins who are very strong and swift.'

"And I said, 'It is a good way. Run back now to your house and I will wait; when the moon is behind Ku-si-ping we will go. All this night we will run and tomorrow we will be with your cousins.'

"So she ran back, but in the way she met Kai-e who caught her by the arm. All the time he was saying, 'Na-vi-e! Na-vi-e!' (my own! my own!) while she was calling to me and fighting to keep him away. I heard them and ran swiftly from behind and with a big stone I struck him so that he fell down like one dead. When the people came to take him, he opened his eyes and laughed and kept on saying 'Na-vi-e! Na-vi-e!' So the people met and because they saw that Kai-e was Ping-e-he (crazy), they said that Tset-ha was to blame. They shut her up in the Estufa, but one night her two cousins came from Te-ma-ge, because I ran there and told them, and we stole her away.

We went to the priest and I told him the truth. Then he married us. So then the people could say no more about us and they could do nothing at all. Now you know the truth."

"But what became of the old Po-a-tun-go?" I asked. "Your present one is about your own age."

He hesitated before making his reply; then, as if weighing his words: "He died, yet he was not sick."

"And Qua-sang-wi?"

"The people all met and said she was chu-ge (witch) because she made her husband die when he was not sick. All the people were very angry, so they burned her till she died."

"What of Kai-e?"

The old man laughed at the question — a hard, cruel, remorseless laugh. As he straightened up to his full height and stood in the shadow I thought I could detect that peculiar expression of an unfeeling victor flash from his eyes while he pointed over the flat roofs to the opposite edge of the village; his words were distinct and bitter, the memories of the past and deep hate preventing a connected utterance: "He lives yonder — the fool - with his real father, the governor for this year — laughing always — he says to everyone — to a man, to a woman, to a little boy, to a little girl, to a burro, to a dog — the same words, 'Na-vi-e! Na-vi-e!'"

I thought it best not to pursue the subject further, for the old man seemed deeply wrought up over the remembrances of the past. Without thinking of the effect of my words, I said quietly,

"Po-se, my friend, come and go with me to the dance tomorrow; I have the governor's permission; only must we go by the trail up the southeast corner."

The old man wheeled 'round, drawing his blanket closer about his shoulder; I saw I had made a mistake in mentioning the governor but I awaited his words as I sat, fascinated by the glitter in his eyes. His compressed lips

trembled as he paused for a full minute before replying. Then his speech came and his words fell hissing from between his slightly parted lips like escaping steam:

"Licencia del gobernador! (the governor's permission!) I need it not. I have my rights. Who will prevent me? I shall not go by the trail, but by the Shay-i (ladders). Go with me, na vi ke-ma, (my own friend) and I will show you the way up the Tun-go Ping Shay-i (the ladders of Tun-go Ping). Only the medico (physician) may not go with us."

"I will go as you say, my friend."

"It is a good way. Be ready early," he said. Again he parted the bushes and was gone.

THE LAST WORD ON "MONTEZUMA"

Benjamin M. Read

Those who read the *Santa Fe New Mexican* may recall, in its issue of May 23, 1925, my article on the origin and history of the name "Montezuma", in which I comment on the so-called New Mexico Indian traditions: that Montezuma was born at the Indian pueblo of Pecos, whence he rode, centuries ago, on the back of an eagle to the site of the present City of Mexico; that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico are related to the Aztecs of Old Mexico; that "Montezuma" is an Aztec word which had its origin in New Mexico - the truth of all of which statements I denied in my article.

THE NAME "MONTEZUMA" OF SPANISH ORIGIN

The word "Montezuma", in its original use, was undoubtedly pronounced differently by the ancient Aztecs from the form in which it has been embalmed by historical writers. The first historian to give us the ancient Aztec pronunciation of the name was Fr. Bernardino Sahagún, who went to Mexico shortly after the conquest by Hernan Cortés. Father Sahagún's first work in the New World was the preparation of a History of the Discovery and Conquest of the West Indies, which he recorded in the Aztec language in twelve volumes, of which the ninth volume deals with the history and conquest of the Aztec Empire. Sahagún's work was translated and published years later in Spain. In chapter one of the volume noted, in referring to the first embassy despatched by Montezuma to interview Juan de Grijálva, captain of the expedition sent by Velázquez from Cuba to Mexico, who had just arrived with

his fleet at "San Juan de Ulua",¹ Father Sahagún says, in regard to Grijálva's business in the New World, that the chief of the embassy, on being asked by Grijálva who had sent him, replied that the great ruler "Mocthecuzuoma" had sent them to meet the Spaniards. Bandelier, in his article "The Montezuma of the Pueblo Indians,"² says: "There is no need of proving that the name of the Mexican 'Chief of men' (Tlaca-tecuhtli) who perished while in the custody of the Spaniards under Hernándo Cortés in 1520, was Mo-techu-zouma, literally 'Our Wrathful Chieftain.'" Bandelier then adds: "Bernal Díaz del Castillo, an eyewitness and the much-prejudiced author of the 'True History of the Conquest of Mexico,' is responsible for the corruption into Montezuma, which has since become popular and most widely known."

Further on Bandelier says:

"No mention is made of Montezuma in Spanish documents on the Southwest of an earlier date than 1664, when speaking of the (then recently discovered) ruins of Casas Grandes, in northwestern Chihuahua, Francisco de Gorráez Beaumont and Antonio de Oca Sarmiento speak of those buildings as the old 'houses of Montezuma.'

In prehistoric times, and as early as 1440, the Indian name of the fifth king of the Aztecs was "Ilhuicamina Mocthecuzoma," but it seems that officially he was known as Mocthecuzoma only, which was, as above stated, corrupted by the Spaniards into Montezuma and Moctezuma (as claimed by Bandelier).³

The first time the name "Montezuma" was used was on the arrival of Cortés at Vera Cruz, and the first Spaniard to use it, or rather to corrupt its pronunciation, was Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who, in relating the interview be-

1. This is the name given by Grijálva to the small island opposite Vera Cruz where stands the ancient Spanish fortification known by that name to this day, at which place Grijálva's fleet had arrived on Saint John's day, June 24, 1518.

2. *American Anthropologist*, vol. V. pp. 319-326, Washington, October 1892.

3. In connection therewith see Leduc, Lara y Pardo, *Diccionario de Geografía, Historia y Biografías Mexicanas*, p. 631.

tween Cortés and the Indian chief of the embassy which the Aztec emperor sent to Cortés, stated that he was a servant of the great Montezuma, his Lord, who had sent them there to learn who the Spaniards were and what they were seeking and, further, to ascertain if they were in need of anything, and, if so, to provide them with all things for which they might ask.⁴

It is well to observe that in my reference to original authorities I have preferred those who either heard the name first from the lips of the Aztec Indians during the time of the conquest by Cortés in 1519-21, like Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who was not only one of the conqueror's most valiant soldiers, but was also the historian of and co-conqueror in that remarkable achievement, or who, like Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, who arrived in Mexico five or six years after the fall of the Aztec capital in August, 1521, and who was the first Spanish author to learn the Mexican language and to write, in that language, the first History of the Conquest, above cited. The next early author of the history of the conquest to be considered is no less a person than a son of one of the companions of Cabeza de Vaca during the most notable journey recorded in the annals of the New World. I refer to Cabeza de Vaca's journey from Florida to Mexico in 1528-36. This author was—

BALTAZAR DORANTES DE CARRANZA

Baltazar Dorantes de Carranza was the son of Andrés Dorantes de Carranza who accompanied Cabeza de Vaca across the continent from Florida to Mexico, as above

4. "Y dende obra de media aora que obimos surgido vinieron dos Canoas muy grandes, que en aquellas partes, a las canoas grandes, llaman piraguas y en Ellas binieron muchos yndios mexicanos, y como vieron los Estandartes y El navio grande conozieron que alli avian de yr a hablar al capitan y fueronse derechos al nabio y entran dentro y pregutan qual Era El Tatuán que en su lengua dizen El señor y doña marina que bien lo entendió, porque sabia muy bien la lengua, se le mostró a Cortés y los yndios hizieron mucho acato a Cortés. A su Vsanza y le dizeron que fuese bienvenido. E que vn criado del gran montezuma, les enviava A saber que hombres eramos, E que buscavamos E que si algo oviesemos menester para nosotros y los navios que se los dixesemos." — Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, vo., I. pp. 105-06.

stated. Baltazar's mother was a lady of the Aztec nobility. Baltazar wrote, in 1604, a complete genealogy of all the Spanish explorers, conquerors, laborers, soldiers, etc., under the title *Sumaria Relación de las Cosas de la Nueva España*. In referring to the Aztec emperor (p. 7) Baltazar calls him "Motectzumatzin". This work was not discovered until 1902, when, as stated by its discoverer, Don Jose María de Ágreda y Sánchez, it was published under the auspices of the Museo Nacional of Mexico.

BALTAZAR DE OBREGON

Baltazar de Obregon, well known as the first historian of Mexican nationality, wrote several books toward the close of the sixteenth century. Among his more notable works, was the *Historia de los Descubrimientos Antiguos y Modernos de Nueva España*, written in 1584. This manuscript was not known to exist until the year 1924 when it was discovered by the Rev. Mariano Cuevas, S. J.,⁵ and, like the *Sumaria Relación* of Baltazar Dorantes de Carranza, was published by the Department of Public Education of Mexico in the year named. In his references to the Aztec emperor, Obregon calls him by the name "Moctezuma" (chap. I, p. 9), a fact showing that many of the first historians of Spanish and Mexican extraction used both the original and the corrupted name of that ruler, some employing the name "Montezuma" following the corrupted change made by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and others recording "Moctezuma" or the original name "Moctheuczoma". Referring to this unfortunate misspelling of the original Indian name, Bandelier says:⁶

"It is interesting how that misspelling has taken hold of the public mind, how it has completely supplanted the original true orthography and meaning. Meaning even is out of place here, for, while *Motecuzoma* is a legitimate

5. *Revista Católica*, El Paso, Tex., Feb. 15, 1925, also *Western American*, El Paso, Tex., Feb. 14, 1925.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

Nahuatl word with a very plain signification, and also a typical Indian personal name, *Montezuma* has no signification whatever; and yet, in Mexico, even the Nahuatl Indians - those who speak the Nahuatl language daily - know only Montezuma and would hardly recognize the original name as applicable to him, whom they have been taught to call an 'emperor'."

Further on Bandelier says: "The confusion between those two personages had already been procreative of a mythical Montezuma in the minds of the educated people. Is it to be wondered at if that mythical figure took a still stronger hold on the conceptions of the simple Indian?"

THE NAME IN NEW MEXICO

We will now consider the Montezuma worshipped by our Pueblo Indians and its probable introduction here in New Mexico.

In 1882, Hon. W. G. Ritch, then Secretary of the Territory of New Mexico, published a pamphlet under the title *New Mexico, A sketch of its History and Review of its Resources*, in which (p. 11) the author makes a statement that, so far as my researches go, is not substantiated by any "written record which is to be found in some of the pueblos." No creditable present-day historian can vouch for Mr. Ritch's statement, although one well-known author, Mr. Adolf F. Bandelier, ten years after Ritch's book, appeared, published his article on the " 'Montezuma' of the Pueblo Indians", above cited, which, it is fair to presume, was written by Bandelier for the purpose of refuting Ritch's story. In a statement shrouded in doubt, Bandelier tries to explain the existence of Ritch's "written record" respecting Montezuma, and, although he does not claim to have seen any such document, he says that Bishop Lamy told him that he (the Bishop) had seen it at the Pueblo of Jemez. The importance and relationship of Ritch's essay and Bandelier's article are so apparent that it justifies the reproduction of both. We will take them in their chronological order. The Ritch statement follows:

"A written record which is to be found in some of the Pueblos is that Pecos pueblo was the birth-place of Montezuma; that after he had grown to man's *state*⁷ he showed himself possessed of supernatural powers; that he at a certain time assembled a large number of his people and started from New Mexico on a journey south, Montezuma riding on the back of an eagle; and thus riding in advance, was to his people as was the star to the wise men of the East. The sign of arriving at the site of the great city and capital of the Aztec nation was to be the alighting of the eagle upon a cactus bush and devouring a serpent. This event took place when the eagle arrived at the site of the present city of Mexico, then first made a city and capital."

One may assume that Ritch had read the history of the conquest of Mexico, and very likely had been told that the Pueblo Indians had been brought up with that tradition in their minds. Omitting the unfounded theories of those who have given to the world the Montezuma myth, the question naturally presents itself, Where did the Pueblo Indians first receive the information about the legend? I have never been able to find any plausible answer to this question, unless we reach the conclusion that the first Spaniards who came to New Mexico had related to the Pueblo Indians the semi-historical story about the Aztecs having migrated into Mexico from the North. Be that as it may, Montezuma was not born in New Mexico, neither is there any traceable connection between the Aztecs and the Pueblo Indians.

ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

Referring to the probable time when the Montezuma-New Mexico myth reached New Mexico, Bandelier states:"

"We now come to the time when the Montezuma story assumed a prominent position among the New Mexican Pueblos. The manner in which this happened is not devoid of interest.

"In the year 1846, when war between the United States and Mexico was imminent, a singular document was con-

7. "Estate"?

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 323-4.

cocted (according to its tenor, at least) in the City of Mexico. It is written in Spanish and was, to my knowledge, never printed, but exists in several manuscript copies in New Mexico. It purports to be a 'History of Montezuma'. Beginning with the folk-tale current among the Tehuas about their hero god Pose-yemo or Pose-ueve, it applies that part of the story relating to the latter's childhood to the childhood of Montezuma, and then goes on to relate the career of the latter, of his sister and mother, etc., until it makes of him a conqueror of Mexico. There Montezuma becomes connected with the Malinche. What the Malinche was is well known. The name itself is a corruption of the Spanish name Marina by the Nahuatl, who, not having the letter 'r' in their alphabet, substituted always the letter 'l', thus making "Malina" out of 'Marina'. Marina was the interpreter *en chef* of Cortés during his conquest of Mexico. The document cited makes of the Malinche a daughter of Montezuma, and, after bringing Cortés and his conquest and victory over Montezuma, concludes by marrying Malinche to Cortés, and by representing New Mexico as part of the dower which the Indian maiden brought to her Spanish husband. Such document, manufactured at a time when an American invasion of New Mexico was apprehended, written at the City of Mexico and circulated in every New Mexican pueblo [?] that could be reached, is plainly what may be called a 'campaign document', conceived in view of strengthening the claims of Mexico upon New Mexico in the eyes of the Pueblo Indians and refuting anything to the contrary that might be anticipated from the side of the United States. It is written in a style peculiarly within the grasp of the Indian, it being Spanish after the fashion in which the Pueblo Indian uses that language in conversation. Whether written in New Mexico and only dated from the capital, or written at that capital, it is certain that the author deserves great credit for the shrewdness with which he has adapted both story and style to the imagination and power of understanding of the aborigines. Since the circulation of that document the story of Montezuma has become stereotyped in the mouths of many Pueblo Indians, and when interrogated by tourists and ethnological volunteers they repeat it with greater or less precision."

We will now listen to Mr. Bandelier's statement re-

garding the source of his information on the existence of the alleged Montezuma document:⁹

"I never succeeded in seeing it, but the Most Reverend Archbishop of Santa Fe [Lamy], during one of his official visits to Jemez, obtained permission to peruse the mysterious volume. It proved to be, as we ascertained by comparing it with a copy in my possession, a copy of the letters (*Cartas*) of Cortés edited by Lorenzana and illustrated with pictures of Mexican costumes. From this book, the existence of which was known to all the Pueblos [?], and about the contents of which they had been partially informed, it would have been easy to gather material for the 'History of Montezuma' of 1846, and it is not unlikely that it has been the source of the latter, except of the introductory portions, which embody a genuine tradition of the Tehua Indians, which was easy to obtain from any one of the more communicative members of that or of any neighboring tribe. The Montezuma of New Mexico, is, therefore, in its present form a modern creation."

We will now hear Bancroft: but I wish first to avail myself of the opportunity to express to Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the Museum of the American Indian, my thanks for his valubale assistance, for it was through him that I obtained Bandelier's interesting paper, by the loan of his own printed copy, without which this would have remained incomplete.

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

Mr. Bancroft says:¹⁰

"It is also still the custom of most writers to refer to the ruins and relics of this region as undoubtedly of Aztec origin, and to adopt more or less fully the theory that the ancestors of the Pueblo tribes were Aztecs left in Arizona during the famous migration from the north-west to Mexico. As the reader of my *Native Races* is aware, it is my belief that no such general migration occurred, at least not within any period reached by tradition; but whether this belief is well founded or not, I have found no reason to modify my position that the New Mexican people and cul-

9. *Ibid.*

10. History of Ariz., and N. M., pp. 4-5.

ture were not Aztec. The Montezuma myth of the Pueblo communities, so far at least as the name is concerned if not altogether, was certainly of Spanish origin."

CONCLUSION

The above résumé is, so far as my knowledge of the alleged legend is concerned, all there is to the so-called tradition regarding the migration and relationship of the Aztecs, — the origin of the name Montezuma, and of the alleged flight of that ruler from Pecos pueblo in New Mexico to the City of Mexico.

REVIEWS AND EXCHANGES

The Rise of the Spanish Empire. By Roger Bigelow Merriman, Professor of History in Harvard University, (The MacMillan Company New York, 1926) It is seven years since the publication of Volume II by Professor Merriman of his scholarly history of the Spanish Empire. The first volume was given to Spain in the Middle Ages, in Volume II the story of the Catholic kings was told, while Volume III is devoted to the reign of Charles V, 300 of its 700 pages covering Spain's conquest in the New World. Volume IV is to take the history down to the death of Philip II.

Professor Merriman, in covering a span of history for which the sources are prolific and which has been examined and re-examined by historians of various nationalities, particularly those of Germany and Austria, is generous in giving credit to those to whom he feels indebted and in pointing out the sources which have thrown new light for him upon wellknown historical facts. He admits that the final word is never said upon any epoch or historical episode and confesses that there have been compensations for the delay of seven years in publishing the third volume in that this delay has enabled him "to utilize several books whose recent appearance has made the study of Spanish history, and particularly of the period of Charles V, both easier and more fruitful than ever before." His conclusions are the latest word of scholarship but surely not the last upon the period under review, for he himself says: "The amount of practically unutilized printed material for Spanish history still remains so vast, that it is quite as important that it should be thoroughly explored as that extensive researches should be made for something new."

Professor Merriman has not only the viewpoint but also the method of the modern scientific historian. He

appears without prejudice though decided in expressing his opinions after weighing all authorities at his command. He realizes the danger of generalization and yet says: "If there was any one characteristic common to all ranks and classes of the Spain of that period, it was certainly dislike and distrust of foreigners. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Geographical facts and historical traditions furnished the background. A natural pride in glorious deeds done under the Catholic Kings, and a consequent tendency to look down on others who had accomplished less, counted for much." He quoted Guicciardini: "They are by nature proud, and believe that no other nation can be compared with their own. In their conversation they are constantly vaunting their own exploits. . . . They have little use for strangers, and are exceedingly rude in their dealings with them."

"That Charles knew little of Spain and of the Spaniards, and that most of that was wrong" was the opinion expressed by the bishop of Badajoz in a letter to Cardinal Ximenez at the beginning of the reign of Charles V and the history is therefore not only that of Spain but also the development of the young ruler who gave no "promise of the ability, ambition or independence which he was afterwards shown to possess." It is a striking portrait which the author draws of the appearance and personality of the Emperor and his deeds which reconciled the Spaniard to the fact that Spain's greatest glory came at the initiative of and under a foreign sovereign, a prince of the house of Hapsburg at that. It was Cardinal Ximenez who looms dominant in Spain in the first few months of the reign of Charles. Incidentally, the efforts of the Cardinal "for the progress and prosperity of the Spanish dominion across the Atlantic, and for the fair treatment of the American Indians, form an interesting and important episode in the history of Spanish civilization in the New World." Nevertheless, the "most intimate adviser was the Burgundian

Chièvres, for whom Charles entertained affection and profound respect."

The problems of taxation and of government during the reign of Charles V are vividly presented, The conditions of life as they existed four hundred years ago in Spain and as the author interestingly describes them, were in their tendencies not much different from those of today. There are petitions to the Emperor to forbid cards and dice "as has been done in the kingdom of Portugal." One of the commonest demands is for the codification of laws into one volume and in language that the people could understand. There are requests that the ancient histories of the realm be collected and printed and that "books of lies and vanities" over which "youths and the young women spend their idleness" be burned. Much attention was given to higher education. One petition says: "Since fathers and mothers send their sons to the universities, and carefully provide them with food and clothes and books, and the students, on the pretext that they need to purchase these things, seek to get money by loans or by pawning their books and effects and then gamble it away or spend it for other evil purposes and are thereby distracted from their studies" let it be forbidden "to imprison students for such debts." Another complaint has it that the apothecaries are seldom present in their shops but leave behind them incompetent persons "who mix up the drugs and make other mistakes, from which great harm results for those who take the said medicines." The petitioners ask that no one be permitted to practice without a thorough examination and the degree of bachelor of arts. The *procuradores* were also greatly concerned over the march of luxury and reckless expenditure. As stated: "It often happens to a poor woman who has nothing but a place in a doorway and a bed of cloths, which she has collected as a dowry for her daughter, that the guests who are imposed on her ruin her bed and destroy it." Gay clothes and carriages were another cause of complaint. "Such is the insolence that

coaches and all their following have been seen to pass the Holy Sacrament in the streets without a single obeisance. . . moreover there have occurred countless terrible accidents through people's rushing and confusion, through the frightening of horses and mules, and the falls of their riders." There were also efforts to mitigate the harsh punishments of the day. "Since those who are condemned by the Hermandad to be shot with arrows are shot alive, without first being strangled, and this seems to be inhuman, and sometimes causes a lingering death, we beg your Majesty to give orders that no one shall be shot with arrows without first being strangled."

Much space is given to the wars with the Infidels and especially the pirate Barbarossa and is followed by an account of the effort of the Emperor to root out Protestantism which ended so disastrously for Charles. The marriage of Philip to Queen Mary of England and the retirement and death of Charles in the convent of Yuste close a story of dramatic intensity.

In the chapters that follow is told concisely and graphically the narrative of Spain's conquests and government in the New World, centering of course, around the epoch-making feats of Hernando Cortes, who because of "his fondness for brawling and amorous adventures" gave up his studies of the law at the University of Salamanca to enter upon a career that led to brilliant successes through his sheer audacity. "In his passion for gambling, and in his looseness of his relation with women, he was typical of the Spaniard of his day," says the writer, "but he kept business and pleasure rigidly separate, and when he recognized the moment for decisive action, drove forward with a power that refused to be denied. His followers could not resist the magic of his appeal. Under his leadership they attempted and achieved the impossible!" The writer quotes Cortes's chaplain and apologist Gomara, in discussing the trouble of Cortes with Governor Velasquez which "originated in Cortes's refusal to fulfill his

promise to marry a lady whom he had persuaded to become his mistress," but prefers to give credence to Las Casas, the historian and eye-witness of the scenes he describes, and who reports that Cortes became deeply involved in a plot against Velasquez who had befriended Cortes. However, Cortes married the lady he had wronged and Velasquez, apparently reconciled, conferred on Cortes the office of *alcalde* and actually stood godfather to one of his children. "But smouldering jealousy and distrust still remained" and out of them grew the events that were destined to shape the future history of the Americas.

Merriman follows Bernal Diaz pretty closely in outlining the salient facts in the life of Cortes but also cites Professor A. S. Aiton of the University of Michigan, especially as to the last years of the Conqueror, who even at the moment that Charles V. rendered his verdict in favor of Cortes deprived him of the management of finance by naming a *contador*, the certificate of whose appointment was found in the archives of the Indies by Aiton. The appointment of Mendoza as viceroy and of the second *audiencia*, even though it took Mendoza six years to get his instructions and reach his post ousted Cortes completely. He sought to retrieve his fortunes in Algiers. "Like many another loyal servant of the Spanish crown," he "was ruthlessly cast aside and suffered to die in neglect."

Equally vivid is the recital of Pizarro's conquest of Peru. Coronado, Fray Marcos de Niza, De Soto, Narvaez, are other figures that pass over these pages and which serve to tie up the American Southwest with the great monarch who dominated the world for so many years.

It is just four hundred years since Charles V wedded Isabella of Portugal. Of this, the historian says: "The spring, summer, and autumn months which followed his marriage were probably the happiest of Charles's whole life. His union with Isabella had been dictated by policy, not affection; in fact, he wrote to his brother Ferdinand

that he wedded her to get her dowry and an acceptable representative when he had to be away. But the Emperor was to be more fortunate in his marriage than he knew; for besides the financial and political advantages, he had the additional satisfaction of falling in love with his wife. His nature was not romantic. The cares of state weighed ceaselessly upon him and left scant space for the development of his affections. But he yearned for sympathy, loyalty, and devotion, and these Isabella offered him in full measure. Though slight and pale, she bore herself like an empress; her head and her heart were both in the right place; she was as a contemporary justly observed, 'of the sort that men say ought to be married.' Certainly she was an ideal companion for Charles. Though he had married her in part to get a regent in his absence, he was to find it unexpectedly difficult to leave her side. Most of their honeymoon was spent at Granada, where they took refuge from the great heats of the valley of the Guadalquivir. It was the first time that Charles had visited Andalusia, and he gazed with wonder and delight on what he saw."

It is these revelations and human touches that make the volume more than a history and cause the pages to teem with romance, although every statement is well documented. The footnotes and references are voluminous, the typography excellent, the maps informative, and altogether, the book is one that delights the bibliophile, the student, the historian as well as the general reader.

P. A. F. W.

Pioneer Days in the Southwest By Grant Foreman, (A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.) The centenary of Kit Carson's arrival in Santa Fe and of Jedediah Smith's entry into California is more fittingly marked by the publication of a volume such as "Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest" by Grant Foreman, than it would be by the erection of monuments in bronze or stone to the pioneers to whom the United States owes the acquisition of an empire.

The author opens with an account of the early explorations of Louisiana Territory. He declares: "From the mouth of the Verdigris, in its day the farthest thrust of the pioneer, the conquest of a large part of the Southwest was achieved. The story of this campaign covering a period of nearly fifty years, has never been written, though it contains much of romance that even in the form of isolated or related incidents it is possible to record." He continues: "The earliest explorers of the Southwest were Spaniards. The first known visitors were DeSoto who crossed the Mississippi in 1540, and Coronado who came from the south the next year. Schoolcraft traces the march of DeSoto to the north of the Verdigris." It was not far from there that Coronado passed on his march to find Quivira. The author then tells of the ill-fated expedition of Captain Villasúr who left Santa Fe in 1719 and after a march of 600 miles was massacred with all his men except "the priest who escaped on his horse."

The expedition of Zebulon Pike in 1806 and that of Don Facundo Melgares sent out from Santa Fe in anticipation of Pike (Melgares who later conveyed Pike as a prisoner to Chihuahua) were parties to one of the first conflicts between Spanish and American authorities that found their climax in the Texas invasion of New Mexico in 1841, and the capture of Santa Fe by General Stephen W. Kearny on August 18, 1846. It was then, according to the author that "the Southwest of the trader, trapper and explorer gave way to the Southwest of the immigrant, the herdsman, the goldseeker, and agriculturist. With the birth of a new era was closed the last chapter of an old."

It is with crucial incidents of the thirty years between 1816 and 1846, that the volume mostly concerns itself. The author has gone to original sources and has made good use of official documents as well as published reports. The chapter headings, perhaps, give the best synopsis of the riches one finds in the 350 pages of beautiful typography

marred only here and there by some typographical error which slipped by the proofreader:

Establishment of Fort Smith in 1817.

Expeditions of Fowler and James to Santa Fe in 1821.

Establishment of Fort Gibson in 1824.

Earliest known traders on Arkansas River.

Washington Irving at Fort Gibson, 1832.

Peace Attempts with Western Prairie Indians, 1833.

The Osage Massacre.

Colonel Dodge Reaches Villages of Western Indians.

Western Garrison Life.

Governor Houston at His Trading Post on the Verdigris.

Governor Houston's Life among the Indians.

The Stokes Treaty Commission.

Governor Stokes's Views and Difficulties.

Indian Warfare between Texas and Mexico.

Expeditions of Bonneville and other Early Traders.

Governor Stokes's Uncompleted Plans.

Warfare on the Texas Border, 1836.

Border Warfare and Texas.

The bibliography, the index and a map showing early explorations and routes of expeditions are valuable addenda.

The author recalls that John G. James who left St. Louis on May 10, 1821, opened a store in Santa Fe where he had arrived on December 1, 1821. James spent six months in Santa Fe and then returned east by way of Taos. However, Glenn who headed the Fowler expedition was the first to go from the mouth of the Verdigris to Santa Fe.

Still earlier, Col. A. P. Chouteau and Julius DeMun had been trading in Spanish territory. In 1815 they were trading with the Arapaho Indians at the headwaters of the Arkansas. They returned to St. Louis the following year. Says the author:

"In their absence, a friendly governor at Santa Fe

had been succeeded by one hostile to Americans. Disregarding the permission granted by his predecessor for the Americans to enter Spanish territory, the governor caused the arrest of Chouteau and DeMun with their men, as they were about to leave the Arkansas for the Crow Indian country on Columbia River. They were thrown into prison at Santa Fe, where they were confined for forty-eight days, part of the time in irons; their lives were threatened, and they were subjected to other indignities; the final and most poignant of all was that Chouteau and DeMun were compelled to kneel to hear a lieutenant read the sentence pronounced by the governor, and were then 'forced likewise to kiss the unjust and iniquitous sentence, that deprived harmless and inoffensive men of all they possessed --of the fruits of two years' labor and perils,' as reported by them to our government." The description of Chouteau's establishment, feudal in its extent and management, the visit of Washington Irving, the sketch of Mrs. Nicks, the first American business woman in the far West, make a delightful chapter. Countless thousands of prairie chickens, numberless herds of buffalo, gave some hint of the wealth of game that covered the western prairies.

"A party of twelve traders had left Santa Fe in December, 1832, under Judge Carr of Saint Louis for their homes in Missouri. Their baggage and about ten thousand dollars in specie were packed upon mules. They were descending the Canadian river when, near the present town of Lathrop in the Panhandle of Texas, they were attacked by an overwhelming force of Comanche and Kiowa Indians. Two of the men, one named Pratt, and the other Mitchell, were killed: and after a siege of 36 hours the survivors made their escape at night on foot, leaving all their property in possession of the Indians. The party became separated and after incredible hardship and suffering, five of them made their way to the Creek settlements on the Arkansas and to Fort Gibson where they found succor. Of the other

five only two survived. The money secured by the Indians was the first they had ever seen."

This and other incidents in the year of the great flood and of star showers (1833) led to the displacement of the Rangers by the Dragoons, commanded by Major Henry Dodge, and Lt. Col. Stephen Watts Kearny, who was destined 13 years later to take Santa Fe. Jefferson Davis, only a few years out of West Point, became a first lieutenant in the regiment. "While the Rangers wore no uniforms, Congress went to the other extreme in the organization of the Dragoons, who must have created a sensation in all beholders, if one can visualize them in their splendor: A double-breasted dark blue cloth coat, with two rows of gilt buttons, ten to the row; cuffs and collar yellow, the latter framed with gold lace and the skirt ornamented with a star. Trousers of blue gray mixture, with two stripes of yellow cloth three-quarters an inch wide up each outside seam. A cap like in infantryman's, ornamented with a silver eagle, gold cord, and with a gilt star to be worn in front with a drooping white horsehair pompon. Ankle boots and yellow spurs; sabre with steel scabbard and a half-basket hilt; sash of silk net, deep orange in color, to be tied on right hip and worn with full dress. Black patent leather belt; black silk stock, and white gloves. For undress uniform, the dark blue coat had only nine buttons on each breast, one on each side of the collar, four on the cuffs, four along the flaps, and two on the hips; an epaulette strap on each shoulder. There was also a great coat of blue gray, made double-breasted and worn with a cape. Add the soldier's equipment of rifle and ammunition, and picture these helpless tender-feet from northern states starting in the middle of summer on an expedition of seven hundred miles, to impress the Indians with the splendor of their raiment and the menace of their arms and numbers; marching over the blazing prairies in heavy uniforms and through the suffocating thickets of underbrush and

briars that entangled with the countless buttons and snatched off the towering cap with the white pompon."

Enough has been quoted to give an inkling of the sustained interest of the volume which gives so vivid a picture of the "Conquest of the Southwest."

P. A. F. W.

The United States and Mexico By Pauline Safford Relyea. (Smith College Studies in History) The diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico under Porfirio Diaz, 1876-1910, are the theme of one of the recent Smith College Studies in History. It is by Pauline Safford Relyea. Considerable space is given in the introduction to diplomatic relations between the two countries from 1825 to 1876. In conclusion, the writer says:

"The undercurrent of hostility to American interests is not found to have been shared by the Mexican government. The administration pursued the same friendly course as during the preceding years, but the question that arose at the time of the introduction of Diaz's policy to invite foreign capital into Mexico, the question as to whether the government would be able to establish its own feeling in the minds of those whose private interests were engaged, must now be answered in the negative. Two currents of feeling were present in Mexico at this time--that of the government still friendly to the United States and to American interests; that of many Mexicans who resented the results of the government policy and laid their wrongs at the door of American intervention in Mexican development. If this intervention could have been guided from the United States by a policy of 'usefulness', it might greatly have aided Diaz in the success of his policy, but exploitation was more often the policy under which Americans worked. The government was thus pursuing the same friendly attitude. In 1907, the boundary question was further settled by a convention for the equitable distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande, whereby the United States undertook to deliver 60,000 acre-feet of water annually to Mexico without cost. In the same year the second question left by the Commission, the matter of 'bancos', was settled by a line drawn through the deepest channel of the

river for the present but providing that all future questions should be settled by reference to the old bed of 1848. The third question, that of the El Chamisal tract, was submitted to arbitration and settled satisfactorily in 1910. As important as the settlements themselves was the culmination of the policy of arbitration in the treaty of 1908 for submitting to the Hague Tribunal all controversies between the two republics not capable of settlement by ordinary diplomatic means."

There is also an interesting note on the attempt to continue the Santa Fe Trail into Mexico.

P. A. F. W.

A Manual of Navaho Grammar. By Fr. Berard Haile, O. F. M. of St. Michael's, Ariz. (Santa Fe New Mexican Publishing Corporation, Santa Fe, New Mex., 324 pp.) If "infinite capacity for taking pains" is genius, then the book is the work of a genius. The Navaho language is naturally in keeping with the Indian's way of thinking; and being a child of nature, the accidental qualities of things and actions obtain great prominence. This calls for minute, or rather indinite detail of expression. Fr. Berard is exceptionally well qualified to work out and give us this detail. Having been in the field, living among the Indians at St. Michael's Chin lee, Lukachukai; and speaking the language for upwards of 27 years, he is naturally familiar with the Indian's way of thinking and expressing himself. His is the knowledge, not of the theorist, but of the practical man and student.

The alphabet used is essentially the same as that used in the "Ethnologic Dictionary" and the "Vocabulary of the Navaho Language" published some years ago by the Franciscan Fathers; but it is rounded out and simplified by applying suggestions, found in the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6) published in 1916.

The work is dedicated to the memory of the late Fr. Anselm Weber, O. F. M., who so valiantly fought the battles of the Indians, and especially the Navahoes, against the

neglect and oppression of the white man; and was, without doubt, the most noted of Indian Missionaries of recent date.

The publishers are to be complimented on their ability to solve the intricacies of the amazing alphabet and word grouping.

All in all, the work is one that will not easily be duplicated, and ought to prove a valuable aid to students of the language.

Fr. T. M.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Referring to Prof. Baldwin's paper in the April *Review*, Mr. H. R. Wagner of Berkeley writes:

"I certainly dispute the fact that Niza ever set foot on the soil of New Mexico, and there are plenty of others who do not believe it. I am quite convinced that he never went any farther than the Gila Valley, all the rest being imagination. As far as Cortez' remarks are concerned, Niza's own account bears internal evidence that he had received information either from Cortez himself or someone who had accompanied him."

For detailed discussion of this point, with citation of important documents, see Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, pp. 45-49. In the author's opinion, these sources

"go a long way to bear out the statements of Cortez, who after all would never have dreamed of saying that he told Niza the stories he heard from the Indians unless there had been some foundation for it."

In connection with the Chamuscado paper by Dr. Mecham in the present issue, the facts regarding a lost map bearing on this expedition as stated by Mr. Wagner in the same work (p. 76) are of interest:

"A marginal reference in Hakluyt, 390, to a map in his possession which he said had been made by Chamuscado,

is interesting. Purchas, IV, 1561, also refers to a map of New Mexico in his possession, made in 1585, no doubt the one referred to by Hakluyt. There is not much doubt that it was the map made by Francisco Dominguez, who in his petition to the Council, undated but after 1584, A. G. I., 58-6-19, expressly states that he had made a map of New Mexico at the request of the Viceroy Conde de Coruña. The King afterward complained that this had not been received,—we now see because the English had intercepted it."

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 ran away from the subscriber, liv-
 ing in Franklin, Howard county,
 Missouri, to whom he had been
 bound to learn the saddler's trade,
 on or about the first of September
 last. He is supposed to have made
 his way towards the upper part of
 the state. All persons are notified
 not to harbor, support or assist said
 boy under the penalty of the law.
 One cent reward will be given to
 any person who will bring back the
 said boy.
 DAVID WORKMAN
 Franklin, Oct. 6, 1820. 1830
 To all Creditors, Legatees

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 BOY, C. CARSON

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 4.

KIT CARSON

Pathbreaker, Patriot and Humanitarian

BY F. T. CHEETHAM

Just one hundred years ago, next month, there arrived in Santa Fe, with a belated caravan from the Missouri River, a run-away boy of sixteen years, who was destined to win the spurs of fame on the American frontier. Though of such tender years, he possessed a modesty of demeanor coupled with a firm self-reliance that became outstanding characteristics of his career. His name was Christopher Carson, but he soon became affectionately known by all who knew and loved him as "Kit" Carson.

During the two years next preceding he had been apprenticed to David Workman in a saddlery. He loved the great out-of-doors and the work at a bench became irksome to him. He therefore ran away. He found his way to Independence, Missouri, where he secured passage to New Mexico. Upon his arrival in Santa Fe, he remained but a short time, when he proceeded to Taos where he spent the winter with an old friend of his family, by the name of Kincade.

In the spring of 1827, probably suffering from an acute attack of nostalgia, he started to return home. He got as far as the Arkansas River where he met a caravan on the way to Mexico. The spirit of adventure overcame his homesickness and he faced about. He accompanied this

party as far as El Paso when he returned to Santa Fe and Taos.

He again spent the winter in Taos, cooking for Ewing Young, the trader and trapper who afterwards figured so conspicuously in the early history of Oregon. The spring following, Carson again started for Missouri and on reaching the Arkansas River he met Colonel Tramell, a trader bound for Chihuahua. Carson hired to him as interpreter and accompanied the train to its destination. While in Chihuahua, Kit was employed by Robert McKnight to go to the copper mines near the River Gila. He worked there for a time as a teamster, but in August, 1828, he returned to Taos.

About the time Carson returned to Taos, Ewing Young had associated with himself David E. Jackson of Jackson's Hole fame and Dr. David Waldo, under the firm name of Jackson, Waldo & Co. This firm had dispatched an expedition to the Salt River which had been defeated and driven back by the Indians that inhabited that region. In August, 1829, a stronger party was organized under the leadership of Ewing Young to trap the River Gila and go on into California. Carson joined this party. They left Taos travelling a northwest course until they had passed beyond the sphere of Santa Fe and the governor's customs agents. On reaching a safe distance they altered their course to the southwest and reached the head-waters of the Salt River. There they were attacked by the same tribe that had driven back the preceding expedition. In the fight that followed the Indians were worsted and the party proceeded on their way.

After a successful catch the party divided. One portion of the original party returned to New Mexico with the furs while the other, which Carson joined, went on to the Colorado River and into California. They picked their way across the desert until they struck the Mojave River. This they followed to its source, crossed the range through Cajon Pass and in a few days arrived at Mission San Gabriel.

They rested a few days at this mission and then went to Mission San Fernando. From there the party went north to the Sacramento River where they commenced trapping. There they found a Hudson Bay Company party under the leadership of Peter Skene Ogden. Young's party remained in the vicinity of the Sacramento until September of the following year when they returned by way of the Pueblo of Los Angeles, having disposed of their furs to a trading schooner. At Los Angeles, the Mexican authorities tried to apprehend the whole party by getting them intoxicated. Young intrusted his horses and camp equipment to the youthful Kit, whom he sent on the way while he managed to get his other men out of the place. They returned to New Mexico by way of the copper mines where they cached the furs they had taken enroute. From there the party proceeded to Santa Fe, where Young secured a license to trade. He took Carson with him, returned to the copper mines, "traded" for his furs and returned with the same to the capital. By April, 1831, Carson was back in Taos.

In the fall of that year, young Kit joined a party under Fitzpatrick to trap in the Northwest. For the next ten years he engaged in trapping in the Rocky Mountain region, even venturing as far as the eastern slope of the Sierras. During this time he explored nearly every important stream and mountain pass from the headwaters of the Platte and Missouri to California and Oregon. He also became intimately acquainted with all the mountain men of note. He participated in many battles with the savages, many times against heavy odds.¹ During these years he particularly fitted himself for those larger and more important duties which the future had in store for him.

Probably the first mention of Kit Carson in the nar-

1. See *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life*, the "Peters Manuscript," edited and published in full for the first time, by Blanche C. Grant, Taos, N. Mex., at the Santa Fe New Mexican press.

atives of the early western travellers, is found in the Rev. Samuel Parker's "Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains," first published in 1838, while Carson was quite a young man and was just winning his title as a "Na-chi-gaime"² of the hunters and trappers. Parker relates how Carson tamed a French-Canadian bully named Shunan.

By the year 1841, the price of furs had so declined that the trappers were forced to adopt some other means of gaining a livelihood. The prices which the market afforded were not commensurate with the dangers incurred and hardships endured in taking the peltries. So Carson drifted into Bent's Fort, situated on the then international boundary, on the Arkansas River, opposite the river Pisipa, near the present city of La Junta, Colorado. This fort had been erected and maintained as a trading post by the enterprising firm of Bent & St. Vrain to catch both the fur trade and the trade with Santa Fe and Chihuahua. Here he was offered employment as hunter for the fort. This position he accepted and during the following winter provided this great trading post with an abundance of meat.

In April, 1842, the wagon trains of Messrs. Bent & St. Vrain departed for the Missouri River, and Carson, desiring to return home after sixteen years of adventure, joined them. After visiting his boyhood home, he went to St. Louis. On his return he took passage on the same steamboat on which Lieut. John C. Fremont and his exploring party were proceeding westward. While on board, Carson had several interviews with Fremont, who had hoped to employ Captain Dripps as his chief scout and guide. Carson modestly told him that he was well acquainted with the region to be explored and believed he could guide the party anywhere they desired to go. Fremont took time to make inquiries as to Carson's fitness and before they separated employed the latter.

2. The word "Na-chi-gaime" is a Pueblo Indian word used to signify one who has finished all his training and proved himself an accomplished hunter.

The exploring party landed at Ciprian, Chouteau's trading post on the Kaw and from there started overland, following largely what was then the Oregon Trail. While enroute, they met with a war party of the Dakotah tribe of Indians, but by the exercise of "Indian diplomacy" avoided hostilities. The objective of this expedition was the Rocky Mountains and the South Pass. Fremont scaled the peak which now bears his name and the expedition about-faced. Carson left the party at Ft. Laramie and returned to Bent's Fort. From there he went to Taos where in February, 1843, he was married to Josefa Jaramillo, a daughter of one of the most respected families of New Mexico.

In April of that year he again started for St. Louis with the wagon trains of Bent & St. Vrain. At Walnut Creek they met four companies of U. S. Dragoons under the command of Capt. P. St. George Cook. The captain had lately received information that a large party of Texans under the command of Colonel Sniveley was waiting along the trail to waylay and capture Governor Armijo's wagon train in retaliation for his treatment of their countrymen of the ill-fated McCleod Expedition. Captain Cook employed Carson to carry a dispatch to Armijo. The latter was accompanied as far as Bent's Fort by Dick Owens and from there he travelled alone to Taos. At Taos he delivered the dispatch to the alcalde who accepted the responsibility of transmitting it to Santa Fe.

After resting a short time, Carson again returned to Bent's Fort and upon his arrival learned that Fremont had just departed on his second pathfinding expedition. On learning that Fremont was not more than seventy miles from the fort, Carson decided to overtake him, not with a view of seeking employment but merely to visit his former employer. On seeing Carson again, Fremont immediately implored him to accompany the expedition. This Carson agreed to do and was immediately sent back to Bent's Fort to purchase mules. This he accomplished and

joined the expedition at St. Vrain's Fort on the South Platte.

At Fort St. Vrain, the party divided, Major Fitzpatrick with the larger portion going by way of Fort Laramie, and Fremont with Carson for guide, going up the Big Thompson, Cache-la-Poudre, below the New Park into the Sweet Water. From there they followed the Oregon Trail until they reached the Soda Springs on Bear River. Fremont then dispatched Carson to Fort Hall for provisions, and the latter rejoined the expedition on the north shore of the Great Salt Lake. While camped on the shore of the lake, Fremont decided to explore a large island lying immediately in front of their camp. This he accomplished by means of a rubber boat carried along for such purposes. Kit accompanied him on this hazardous enterprise.

From the Great Salt Lake, the party went to Fort Hall and down the Columbia to the Dalles where they rested while supplies were secured from Fort Vancouver. From the Dalles, the expedition proceeded southward along the east side of the main range past Pyramid Lake. Continuing on southward, after encountering deep snows and enduring untold hardships, they crossed the main range of the Sierras through Kit Carson Pass in what is now Mono County, California. From there they went to Colonel Sutter's Fort on the American Fork of the Sacramento where they were well and graciously received by friends.

At Sutter's Fort, Fremont rested his men and refitted for his return trip. Leaving this fort he proceeded southward along the west side of the Sierras until he reached the south end of the San Joaquin Valley. He then crossed the range through a low pass and struck the old Spanish Trail from the Pueblo of Los Angeles to Santa Fe and Taos. This they followed until they reached Vega Santa Clara, whence they proceeded to Utah Lake and crossed the Wasatch Range to Robidoux' Fort on the Uintah. They then followed a circuitous route back to Bent's Fort

where they arrived in time for a Fourth of July feast, just one year after their departure from that place.

Carson here took leave of Fremont and returned to Taos. He remained at that place until the spring of 1845 when he and Dick Owens made a settlement on the Little Cimarron about forty-five miles east of Taos. There they erected cabins, cleared and broke some land and planted crops of grain. But on leaving Fremont, Carson had promised that in the event of his return for another expedition his services would be available. In August of that year, Fremont returned to Bent's Fort on his third expedition. He sent a dispatch to Carson and the latter, true to his word, sold out his claim at a loss and reported for duty.

This expedition pursued a more direct route to California again touching at the Great Salt Lake. On reaching the Sierras, the party again divided, one portion under Talbot and Walker making a detour to the south while Fremont and Carson crossed the Range by a direct route to Sutter's Fort. After securing supplies at the fort they proceeded on south hoping to find the other detachment of their party. This they failed to do and on arriving at San José they learned that Talbot was on the San Joaquin. Carson was then sent to get in touch with them and bring them in.

After the party had re-united, Fremont started for Monterey to re-outfit for the return trip. On arriving within about thirty miles of that place he received a peremptory order from General Castro to leave the country at once. Fremont went into camp and rested his men, being constantly harrassed by threatened attacks. After giving his men sufficient rest, Fremont moved northward by the way of Sutter's Fort. From there he followed the Sacramento to Peter Lassen's Fort. There he secured supplies and started for the Columbia River. They had gotten as far as the Klamath Lakes when they received a dispatch from Lieutenant Gillespie who was trying to

overtake Fremont. He was the bearer of important orders and messages some of which had not been entrusted to writing. Fearing that so small a party as Gillispie's would be attacked by the Klamath Indians, Fremont took a party of ten men, of whom Carson was one, and retraced his steps hastily. Meeting the lieutenant they camped for the night. Fremont sat up late reading the letters and dispatches just received. He had retired only a short time when the keen ear of Carson heard the thud of a tomahawk. Before he could awaken the tired sleeping men two of their number were slain. Carson rushed to the counter-attack and soon the savages were driven off. Had it not been for the trained ear of Kit Carson there is no doubt but that the whole party would have been annihilated.

In pursuance of the orders and messages received, Fremont at once about-faced his entire command and marched back for California. They again touched at Peter Lassen's Fort where they secured necessary provisions. From there they went on south and found the whole country in a state of excitement. Fremont was an officer in the Army of the United States but he had as yet no official information that war had been declared and could not, therefore, wage war against a friendly nation. The Bear Flag Party was being organized. Fremont was a man of action. He put away his American Flag and joined the Bear Flag Party. Carson participated. Everything was swept before them. The Mexican forces fled southward. On July 2nd the American fleet under the command of Commodore Sloat entered Monterey harbor and on the 7th the city was surrendered to him.

Fremont and his command arrived in the city on the 19th. Lieutenant Walpole of the British Ship *Collingwood*, in his *Four Years in the Pacific*, says: "He has one or two with him that enjoy a high reputation in the prairies. Kit Carson is as well known there as 'the Duke' is in Europe."³ By this time Commodore Sloat had relinquished

3. The reference here is to the Duke of Wellington.

his command of the American squadron to Commodore Stockton. The latter immediately requested Fremont to organize what became known as the California Battalion. A concerted movement was then set on foot to reduce southern California, and the combined forces of Stockton and Fremont soon captured Los Angeles and San Diego.

It became necessary to apprise the government at Washington of what had been accomplished. Kit Carson was ordered to carry dispatches to the seat of government and lost no time in getting on his way. He followed the southern route by way of the Gila and had reached what is now the city of Socorro when he met General Kearny on his westward march. General Kearny ordered Carson to deliver his dispatches to Fitzpatrick and return with him to California as his chief scout and guide. Kearny also, on learning of the success of Stockton and Fremont, reduced his force by ordering back two companies of dragoons. The general pushed rapidly on and upon nearing San Diego, began to be harrassed by the Californians who had been reorganizing in Sonora. The battles of San Pascual were fought and Kearny lost heavily. In fact he found his little company outnumbered and surrounded. With his usual modesty and fortitude Kit Carson stepped forward and offered to make his way through the enemy's lines and go for help. Lieutenant Beale of the Navy, who was with the expedition, offered to accompany him. An Indian also joined the "forlorn hope." They made their way in the nighttime through the lines of the Californians, enduring such hardships that the lieutenant was two years in recovering therefrom. Commodore Stockton, on learning of General Kearny's predicament immediately dispatched a force to his relief. With Kearny's arrival in California the uprising of the Californians was soon put down.

It was not long before Carson was again ordered to Washington with dispatches. James Madison Cutts, in

his *Conquest of California and New Mexico*, published in 1847, in speaking of this says:—

“About the 25th of February, Colonel Fremont sent dispatches to the United States government through passed Midshipman Beale, Lieutenant Talbot, and a personage who has often figured in these sketches; and whose memoir, from very competent hands is here inserted—not alone in justice to him, but that it fills up details, perhaps wanting, in this narrative,—Kit Carson.

“Under this name, within a few years, he has become quite familiar to the public, mainly through his connection with the expeditions of Fremont, one of the best of those noble and original characters that have from time to time sprung up on and beyond our frontier, retreating with it to the west, and drawing from association with uncultivated nature, not the rudeness and sensualism of the savage, but genuine simplicity and truthfulness of disposition, and generosity, bravery, and single-heartedness to a degree rarely found in society. Although Kit has become known to the reading people of ‘the States’ and of Europe through Fremont’s reports, he was long ago famous in a world as extended, if not as populous; famous for excelling in all the qualities that life in the trackless and vast west requires and develops. He has been celebrated (though now aged only thirty-seven years) as a hunter, trapper, guide or pilot of the prairies, and Indian Fighter, uniting the necessary characteristics of that adventurous and sturdy class, a kindness of heart, and gentleness of manner that relieves it of any possible harshness or asperity. He is now in ‘the States’ having recently arrived with dispatches from California; and I have taken the opportunity to extract from him a few incidents of his eventful life. He is worthy of an honorable and more extended memoir; and were his adventures fully written out, they would possess an interest equal to any personal narrative whatever.”

Such was the estimate of him at thirty-seven.

Carson arrived in Washington in June, 1847, and while there, was appointed a lieutenant of the U. S. Mounted Rifles. He was ordered to return to California with dispatches. Lieutenant Beale started with him, but on account of ill-health brought on by the San Pascual affair, he was obliged to abandon the journey at St. Louis. Car-

son proceeded by the way of Ft. Leavenworth and Taos. At the latter place he selected a few picked men and continued his journey. He arrived safely with his dispatches and mail at Monterey, this being the first overland mail carried across the continent.

After having discharged his duty as dispatch bearer and mail carrier, he was ordered to report for duty at Los Angeles. On arriving there he was stationed at the Cajon Pass to guard against Indians and other horse-thieving parties. He remained at that post until the spring of 1848 when he was again ordered to Washington with dispatches. Lieutenant Brewerton accompanied him on this expedition. They followed the old Spanish Trail, and lost most of their ammunition in crossing Grand River. Arriving at a point about fifty miles north of Taos, they were attacked by a large war-party of Apaches. Carson avoided bloodshed by an unusual display of nerve and managed to extricate his little party.

On arriving at Taos he learned that his appointment as a lieutenant had not been confirmed by the United States Senate and some of his friends urged him to deliver his dispatches to the commanding officer at Santa Fe and return home. He replied that he regarded being intrusted with the difficult task of carrying the dispatches through, as a greater mark of confidence than an appointment which he would soon relinquish, and proceeded on his journey. At this time the Comanches were on the war-path. So he took a northern route by the headwaters of the South Platte. Emerson Hough credits him with being the first to carry eastward the news of the gold discovery at Sutter's Mill.

After having delivered his dispatches in Washington, he returned to Taos, where he spent the winter with his family. In April of 1849, Carson and Lucien Maxwell established a settlement on the Rayado creek, in what is now Colfax County. They contemplated putting up hay for the army, to be delivered at Ft. Union.

In 1853, Carson traded for 8500 head of sheep which he drove through to California, going out by way of the Arkansas and Ft. Laramie. He sold the sheep in California to good advantage and while there met up with Maxwell, who likewise had driven sheep through. They returned by way of the Gila, carrying the proceeds of their sales, in gold dust, in their saddle bags.

In March, 1854, Lieutenant Davidson, with Company I and a part of F company of the First U. S. Dragoons had a fight with the Apaches, in the Embudo Mountains of Taos County. In this fight the troops lost heavily, all but four being either killed or wounded. A few days later Lieut-Colonel Cook started in pursuit of the Apaches. He secured the services of Carson as chief scout and guide. They crossed the Rio Del Norte at the mouth of the Rio Hondo and continued in a northwest course from Taos. They came upon the fleeing Indians and killed a number, when the rest scattered. The expedition then returned to Abiquiu.

A few weeks later Major Carleton, afterwards General, set out on an expedition to chastise the same tribe. He too selected Carson as chief scout and guide. They went north into the San Luis Valley of Colorado, crossed the Sangre de Cristo Range through Huérfino Pass and found the Indians camped in the Raton Mountains near Trinidad. A running fight occurred in which a number of Indians were slain. It was on this expedition that Carson informed Major Carleton that they would come upon the Indians at two o'clock of the day the fight occurred. The major told Carson that if this proved true he, the major, would present Carson with the best hat to be had in New York City. They came upon the Indians at the appointed hour and the major afterwards delivered the hat. Out of this a friendship grew up which lasted unto death.

In August of that same year, the Indian agent sent Carson to the Utes to call them into council at Abiquiu. As they were returning from this place, the smallpox

broke out among them and they placed the blame on the agent. They accordingly went on the war-path and commenced making depredations upon the settlements. Costilla was attacked and matters grew serious. The governor issued a call for volunteers. Cerán St. Vrain of the old firm of Bent & St. Vrain was elected to command the volunteers with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Colonel Fontleroy commanded the regulars. By the time the force was outfitted, winter had set in. Carson was again employed as chief scout and guide. The expedition proceeded north to Ft. Massachusetts, at the foot of Mt. Blanca. From there they went westward and crossed the range near Saguache, where they had a sharp fight with the Indians.

After the close of this campaign, Carson was again asked to give up his farming operations and return to the service of the government as Indian agent. With headquarters at Taos, he remained as agent until the opening of the Civil War. He had taught the Indian to fear him in war; he also taught the red man to trust him in time of peace. In all his dealings he was a man of veracity. Fremont said of him that "to me Carson and the truth are the same thing." Carson would not tell the Indian a falsehood nor would he suffer any one under him to do so. On the other hand, he required the same of the Indians. The result of his policy was that the tribes with which he dealt remained at peace during the War of the Rebellion.

When that cataclysm came which almost rent the nation in twain, the Anglo-Saxon population of the mountain territories and California was almost equally divided between the north and the south. The gold supply of these regions was of vital importance and the side which secured this would probably win the war. Carson and his friend St. Vrain came of southern stock, but they had both followed the flag. Their loyalty to it knew no bounds. So when the call for troops came they both responded.

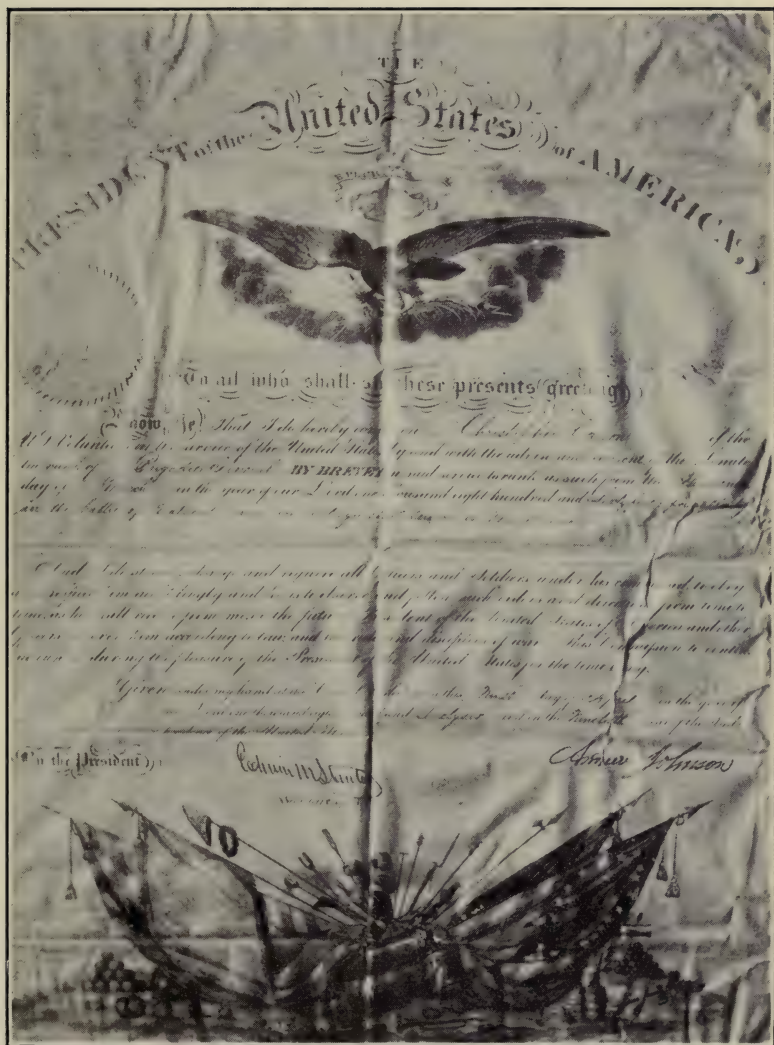
They helped to organize a regiment of which St. Vrain was made colonel and Carson lieutenant-colonel. St Vrain's health soon failed and he had to relinquish his command to the veteran of many "difficults" as Carson termed a battle. The regiment so organized was called the 1st New Mexico Cavalry and the personnel of the regiment was mostly Spanish-American.

Hardly had the regiment been mustered in when the invasion from Texas came. Its first engagement was at Valverde. In this fight a large number of the regulars, being recruited from the south, deserted to the invading army. Carson's regiment stood firm but the Union force as a whole was so demoralized that the battle was lost. The First New Mexico, however, did not retreat in front of the enemy, but remained in the south to protect the settlements against the inroads of the savage tribes.

The Confederates swept the Rio Grande Valley before them but met an inglorious defeat at the hands of Colonel Chivington and his men at Apache Cañon. They were obliged, because of the destruction of their wagon and supply-trains, to retreat to El Paso. Before they could reform and re-equip their forces, the California Column under General Carleton arrived and all further danger of invasion from Texas and the south passed.

While the resources of the federal government were being taxed to the utmost in striving to put down the rebellion, the savage tribes of Indians saw an opportunity to strike and strike hard at the frontier settlements. Of these tribes the Navajos and Apaches were not the hindmost. Colonel Carson in his final report of the operations against the Navajo tribe in part says:

"Since the first Spanish settlements were made in this country—a little less than two centuries—the Navajo Indians have subjected the people to a forced tax, which swallowed up the fruits of their hard earned industry. But it was not alone their property which would satisfy them; the lives and honors of daughters were being continually sacrificed by the remorseless savages; and it was



CARSON'S COMMISSION AS BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL

The Original Hangs in the Home of Kit Carson, III, at Alamosa, Colo.

a common occurrence, the carrying into captivity their innocent children. . . .

"Early in 1861 the Rebellion broke out, and all minor affairs were swallowed up in the major one of preserving the Union. The troops were recalled from the Navajo country to take part in the struggle, and hardly had they left their stations when the 'Warwhoop' of the relentless foe smote the hearing of our peaceable citizens with appalling destruction, the more appalling from being unexpected—owing to their faith in the treaty just concluded. About this time rumors reached us of a threatened invasion of the Territory by the Texans, and all the available force was needed to repel it, and the Navajos were consequently undisturbed in their infernal work of destruction. Never before were their atrocities so numerous. They overran the whole country, and carrying their boldness so far as to enter the settlements and towns, carrying off their stock from before the people's eyes, and murdering citizens, even within two miles of the capital. No place was secure, and every town and hamlet became a fortification to protect its inhabitants."

The Apaches had been equally active and perhaps more cruel in their inroads upon the settlements. The indignities suffered by innocent women and children, for modesty's sake, will never be told. Soon after General Carleton was placed in command of the department of New Mexico he resolved to chastise these savages. He adhered to General Sherman's idea of war,—that a liberal spilling of blood at the outset was the most humane in the end. He therefore ordered Colonel Carson to reoccupy Fort Stanton and proceed against the Mescalero Apaches and the Navajos. In his orders he said:—

"There is to be no council held with the Indians, nor any talks. The men are to be slain whenever and wherever they can be found. The women and children may be taken as prisoners, but, of course, they are not to be killed."

Colonel Carson proceeded first against the Mescalero Apaches and compelled them to surrender and be taken to a reservation provided for them at Bosque Redondo,

near Fort Sumner. He then turned his attention to the Navajo tribe. On July 7, 1863, he left camp at Los Lunas with Companies "D," "K," "L" and "M" of the 1st N. M. Cavalry for Pueblo, Colorado, and arrived at old Fort Wingate on the 10th. He left there on the 14th and arrived at Ojo del Oso on the 16th. He arrived at Fort Defiance on the 21st, and next day he set out with a board to select the site for Fort Canby. This post was established and used by him as a base of operations. Some idea of his methods may be gathered from a perusal of his reports. In his report dated Fort Canby, N. M., December 6, 1863, he in part says:—

"On the 21st arrived at the Moqui village. I found on my arrival that the inhabitants of all the villages, except the Mibis, had a misunderstanding with the Navajos, owing to some injustice perpetrated by the latter. I took advantage of this falling out and succeeded in obtaining representatives from all the villages — Oraibi excepted—to accompany me on the war-path. My object in insisting on parties of these people accompanying me was simply to involve them so far that they could not retract; to bind them to us, and place them in antagonism to the Navajos. They were of some service and manifested a great desire to aid us in every respect.

"While on this subject I would respectfully represent that these people, numbering some four thousand souls, are in a most deplorable condition, for the fact that the country for several miles around their village is quite barren, and is entirely destitute of vegetation. They have no water for the purpose of irrigation, and their only dependence for subsistence is on the little corn they raise when the weather is propitious, which is not always the case in this latitude. They are a peaceable people, have never robbed or murdered the people of New Mexico, and act in every way worthy of the fostering care of the Government. Of the bounty so unsparingly bestowed by it on the other Pueblo Indians—aye, even on the marauding bands—they have never tasted. And I earnestly recommend that the attention of the Indian Bureau be called to this matter. I understand that a couple of years annuities for the Navajos not distributed are in the possession of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Santa Fe, and I consider

that if such arrangement would be legal, these goods should be bestowed on these people."

He soon directed his movements against the heart of the Navajo country. It was the general belief at the time that their stronghold was in the Cañon de Chelley. But this belief was not shared by Colonel Carson. In the same report of December 6th, he says:—

"I arrived yesterday at the post and as soon as the animals are sufficiently rested I shall send a command to examine the Cañon de Chelley, and the smaller Cañons that intersect it. Were I not of the opinion that but a few if any Navajos are in the Cañon, I should have paid a visit long since, but of that I convinced myself while in that vicinity in September."

His report of December 26th seems to indicate that the commanding general was pressing him to explore the cañon which up to that time seems not to have been explored by white men. We find the following:—

"In the last few days we have had a considerable fall of snow, which will greatly facilitate my operation against the Cañon de Chelley. Of one thing the General may rest assured, that before my return all that is connected with the cañon will cease to be a mystery. It will be thoroughly explored, if perseverance and zeal with the numbers at my command can accomplish."

On January 6, 1864, he left Fort Canby with 14 commissioned officers and 375 men on the expedition against the Cañon de Chelley. The snow was so deep that it took the command three days to accomplish what ordinarily they could have done in one. He had sent Captain Pfeiffer with a troop to the east portal of the cañon while he proceeded with the main force to the west. He arrived at the west opening on the 13th. Next morning he made a detour with his staff and escort and struck the cañon about six miles above the mouth, for the purpose of reconnoitering before commencing operations. He pushed on about five miles farther, but could find no entrance into the cañon, the walls

being about one thousand feet high. He had returned to camp when Sergeant Andrés Herrera of "C" company came and reported having slain eleven warriors, the greatest number slain at any one time during all the operations of Carson against the Navajos.

On the 13th Colonel Carson divided his command into two detachments to operate on each side of the cañon, the first consisting of "B" and "G" companies under Captain A. B. Carey on the south, and "E" and "D" companies under Captain Joseph Barney on the north side. They pushed eastward until the east portal was in view, without having seen Captain Pfeiffer's command. On returning to camp, however, they found that Captain Pfeiffer had passed through the entire cañon, having killed three Indians and brought in ninety prisoners.

The effect of this operation may be gathered from his report. He says:—

"While enroute on my return to camp I was joined by three Indians with a flag of truce, requesting permission to come in with their people and submit. I told them, through my interpreter, that they and their people might come unmolested, to my camp up to 10 o'clock A. M. next day, but that after that time if they did not come my soldiers would hunt them up, and the work of destruction recommence. Accordingly, next morning, before the time appointed sixty Indians arrived. They had made known to them the intention of the Government in regard to them, and expressed their willingness to immigrate to the Bosque Redondo. They declare that owing to the operation of my command they are in a complete state of starvation, and that many of their women and children have died from this cause. They also state that they would have come in long since, but they believed it was a war of extermination, and that they were agreeably surprised and delighted to learn the contrary from an old captive whom I had sent back to them for this purpose. I issued them some meat and they asked permission to return to their haunts and collect the remainder of their people."

Thus the spirit of this proud and haughty nation was broken. They had defied the Spanish government for two

hundred years. Mexico had been unable to conquer them. No previous expedition under the United States had accomplished any lasting peace. But they were completely subdued by Carson and his men; subdued forever and with a loss of less than fifty warriors slain; starved into subjection. With but a few hundred men Carson caused about seven thousand Indians to come in and give themselves up. It was the greatest feat of Indian warfare ever accomplished by an American soldier. In other Indian campaigns the commanding officer has usually had the undivided resources of the nation behind him. He has had regular troops, properly equipped. In this case Carson had a handful of volunteers. But he knew Indians and Indian warfare; no living white man of his day could read "Indian sign" as he could. The result was inevitable. This proud and haughty tribe theretofore unsubdued, could not withstand the persistent inroads made by him and his weatherbeaten men. Carson's greatest gift to the people of New Mexico was peace with the Navajo—a peace that was and is to be everlasting. What man has done more for our fair State?

Soon after he returned from the Navajo country, Carson was ordered to chastise the Kiowas and Comanches who had been making trouble in another direction. Their operations had threatened the Santa Fe Trail and the source of supply for all military operations in the Southwest. Carson believed that they had encamped for the winter on the Canadian in Texas. He therefore proceeded to Fort Bascom, which he used as his base, and collected a few companies of the First New Mexico Cavalry and some detachments from the California troops then in the territory. The little force set out to locate the Indians and they were found near the old adobe fort on the Canadian. Carson attacked and inflicted a severe punishment, killing over sixty of their braves, with but very slight loss to his own men. He had with him some Ute and Pueblo scouts who reported to Carson that there were other villages of the allied tribes just a short distance down the river. He knew

that he was outnumbered by an overwhelming force, armed with the same kind of guns that his men carried. He therefore ordered a retreat before the Indians could consolidate and counter-attack. He was none too late. After the usual lamentations over their slain, the defeated warriors, reinforced by a large number of warriors from below, started in pursuit to avenge the blow. Carson did an unheard-of thing in modern warfare and covered his retreat with his artillery. Had he fought according to the "rules of the game" as taught at West Point, no doubt he would have lost his entire command.

This was Carson's last big fight. He soon returned to civil life and was again appointed Indian agent. He spent his few remaining years trying to help the red men, and at the same time prevented many a marauding band from attacking the immigrants who were rapidly developing the Far West. One of his last official acts was to avert the massacre of a company of "Regulars" which was about to become engaged in a fight with the Ute tribe. He gathered this tribe into a grand council at Maxwell's Ranch on the Cimarron and there made a treaty with them, thus averting trouble. This treaty was made on the 2nd day of March, 1868, and transmitted to the United States Senate on the 18th.

He did not live long thereafter. His wife died April 23, 1868, and he followed her just one month later. Touching his passing the first issue of the *Pueblo Chieftain* had the following to say:—

DEATH OF KIT CARSON

"The melancholy intelligence reaches us that General Kit Carson is no more. He died at his residence⁴ on the Las Animas on the 24th inst. of disease of the heart. General Carson was a Kentuckyian by birth, removed early in life to the State of Missouri, and while yet a mere boy

4. Two errors crept into this newspaper article: He died at Fort Lyon and not at his ranch and on the 23rd instead of the 24th.

became a wanderer on the vast plains of the then unknown regions of the West. From about the age of seventeen years until fifty, he lived the life of a hunter, trader and trapper. He early explored, and became familiar with the mountains and plains from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. During all these years of his wild life he was constantly exposed to every hardship and danger, sometimes making his home with the Indians and assisting them in their wars against other tribes, sometimes employed as a trapper by some mountain trader—sometimes trading on his own account between New Mexico and California. His home was always the wilderness, and danger his constant companion. Unaided by the advantages of education or patronage, by the force of indomitable energy and will, by chivalrous courage, by tireless labor and self-denial, he rose step by step, until his name had become as familiar to the American people as a household word. He stood pre-eminent among the path-finders and founders of empire in the Great West, and his long career enriched by hardship and danger is unsullied by a record of littleness or meanness. He was nature's model of a gentleman. Kindly of heart, tolerant of all men, good in virtue of disposition, rather than great in qualities of mind, he has passed away—dying as through his life he had lived—in peace and charity with all men, and leaving behind him a name and memory to be cherished by his countrymen as long as modesty, valor, unobtrusive worth, charity and true chivalry survive among men. Of his precise age we are not advised, but judge that he was very near sixty years of age. He leaves children of tender years to mourn his loss."

Speaking of his modesty, Colonel Meline said of him:—

"The pleasantest episode of my visit here has been the society of Kit Carson, with whom I passed three days, I need hardly say delightfully. He is one of the few men I ever met who could talk long hours to you of what he had seen, and yet say very little about himself. He has to be drawn out. I had many questions to ask, and his answers were all marked by great distinctness of memory, simplicity, candor, and a desire to make some one else, rather than himself the hero of his story."

Jessie Benton Fremont, the widow of General Fremont,

in an interview given to Charles F. Lummis, in speaking of Carson among other things said:—

“As a frontiersman, his name and fame are everywhere known, but there are perhaps few who think of him except as the hero of wild adventures. That he was, but he was more. Nothing could be more mistaken than to think of him as a rough borderer.

“Kit Carson was a man among men; a type of the real American pioneer, not only fearless but clear headed, as gentle as he was strong. He had the true courtesy of the heart; and withal a quiet pride — much as Richard the Lion-Hearted and his knights, who thanked God that they were not clerks.

“His nature was literally sweet—sweet by its wholesomeness—sweet as a clear cut winter morning is sweet.

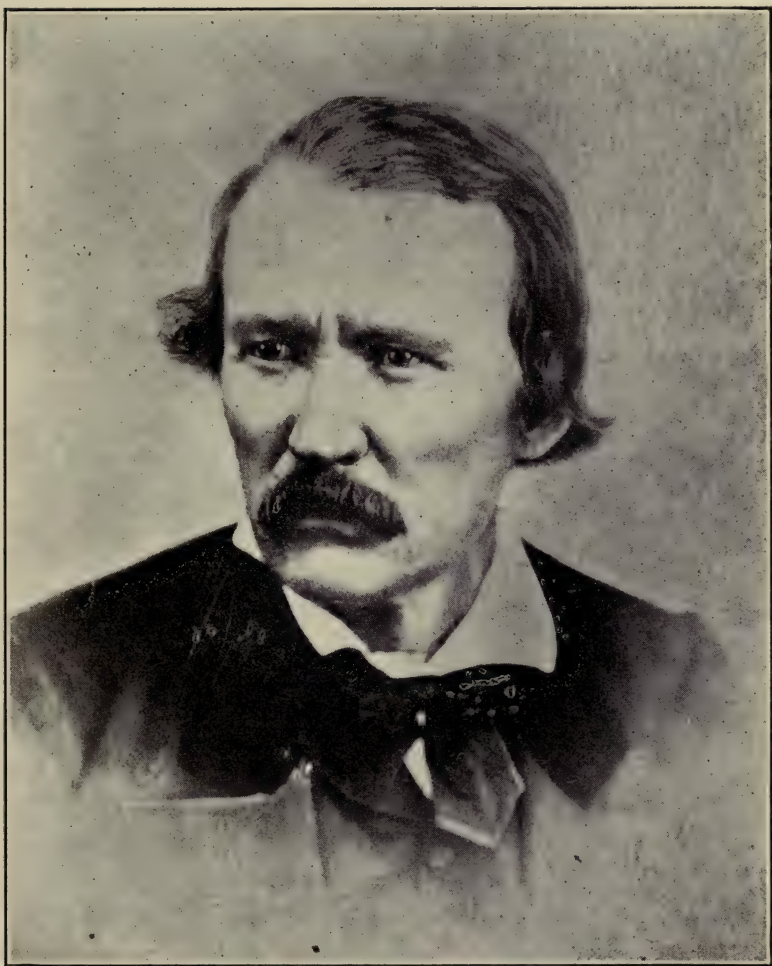
“My mother said to him one day; ‘You must have had a great many fights.’

“‘I never had a fight of my own, but one.’ Carson answered. ‘That was with a Frenchman. He said the Americans were cowards and darsn’t fight. I told him that I was an American and that I was his man. And we fit.’ He turned back his collar unconsciously and simply and showed the wound by the collar bone.”⁶

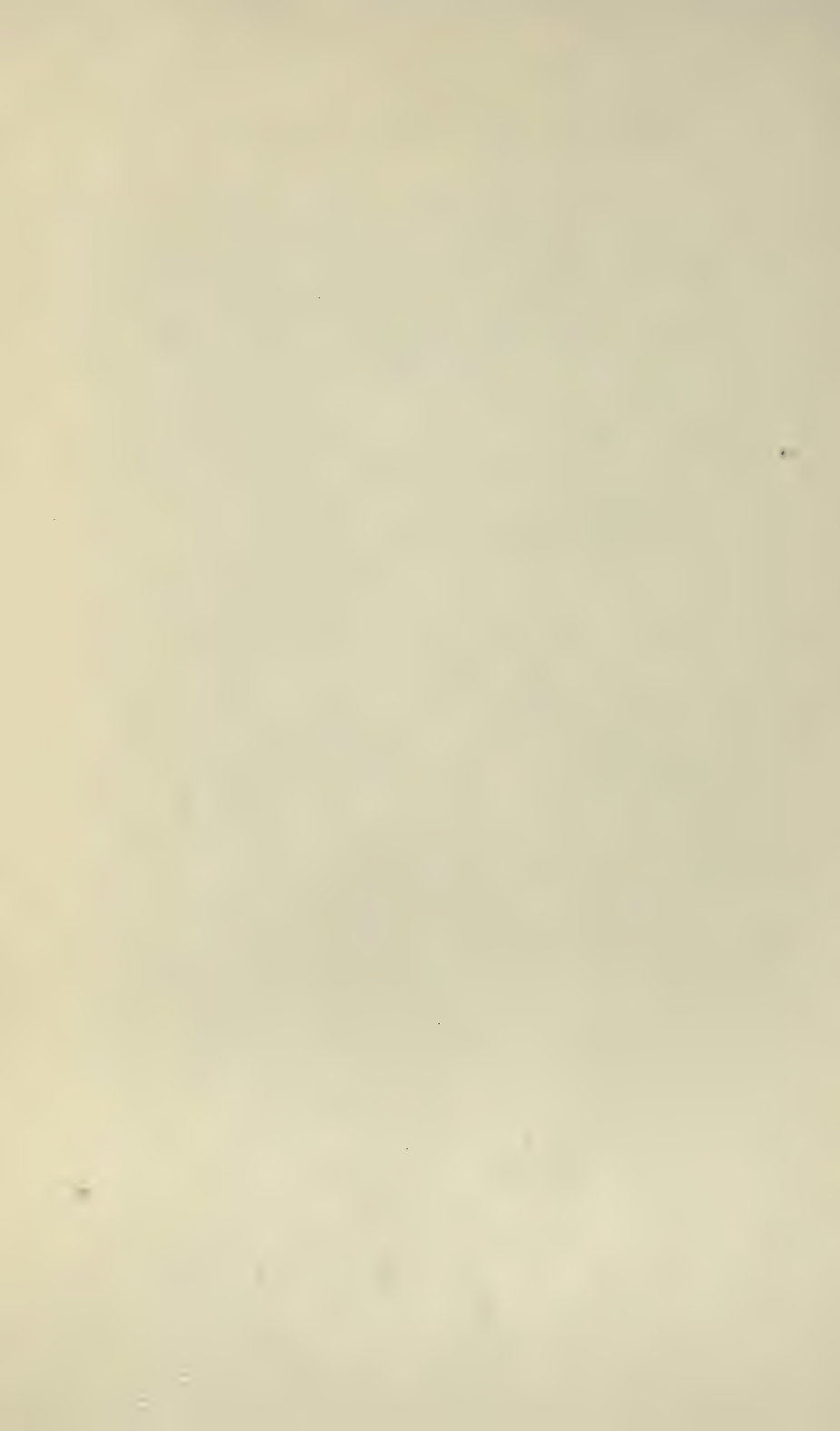
As early as 1857, the New Mexico correspondent to the *Washington Union*, had this to say of Carson:—

“He is a mild, pleasant man in the expression of his face, and no one would ever suspect him of having led the life of daring and adventure which distinguish him. He is refined in manner and very polite in his intercourse; his conversation is marked with great earnestness and his language appropriate and well chosen, though not pronounced with correctness. He has a strong mind, and everything he says is pointed and practical, except when indulging in a vein of humor which is not infrequent. No one can converse with him without being favorably impressed; he has a jovial, honest, open countenance, and a kindness of heart almost feminine. He is universally beloved here, and a favorite with all classes, Indians included. He never alludes to his career as an adventurer unless questioned relative to it. He is heavy framed and weighs

6. The Land of Sunshine, Vol. 6, No. 3.



KIT CARSON IN LATER YEARS



about one hundred and seventy pounds. He is forty-eight years old, but does not look to be over thirty-five. He came to this country in 1827, having run off from his employer near Boonville, Missouri, to whom he was apprenticed to learn the saddler's trade. The facts of his life are now in the possession of Washington Irving, and will doubtless be thrown into the form of a book during the coming winter."

Space will permit of only a few unpublished stories of General Carson. The late Captain Simpson of Taos, who was intimately acquainted with Carson for fifteen years, used to relate the story of the flag at Taos. He said that sometime about the winter of 1867, he and Colonel Carson were in a conversation on the west side of the plaza at Taos. This was just a few months before the frontiersman's death. The latter called the captain's attention to the American flag floating over the plaza. Carson said "Captain, I have kept that flag up since '47, I will not be here much longer. I want you to see that it stays up." This the captain did until the day of his death a few years ago. The flag as well as the pole from which it floats has been renewed from time to time and marks the spot where the old whipping post stood.

Teresina Bent Scheurich, a daughter of Gov. Bent and a niece of Carson had many stories to tell of him. She often told of a trip she took with him in 1854 when they left Santa Fe for Taos on horseback. It was the last of March. From La Joya they took the trail to Embudo Plaza and from there on through the Embudo Mountains. A few miles above the settlement of Cieneguilla they rode upon the battlefield where Lieut. Davidson with Company I and a part of F Company of the 1st U. S. Dragoons had encountered the Apaches and escaped with only four men uninjured. This was two days after the battle. They counted twenty-two soldiers lying dead on the battlefield. Carson put spurs to his horse, rode on to Taos, secured

7. The above was kindly handed the writer by Arthur M. Ellis of Los Angeles, a noted student of history and a member of the New Mexico Historical Society.

help and returned to the scene of the tragedy, and removed the bodies to Taos where he buried them. The place where they were buried is known as the Carson Cemetery to this day.

She also told of the rescue of a white boy who had been a captive and slave among the Comanches. She said that her Uncle Kit on learning of this, hired two Mexicans who were on friendly terms with the Comanches to go out and hunt up the particular band of the tribe who held the boy in bondage. He supplied them with trinkets and other articles suitable for trade and barter. They located the boy, traded for him and brought him to Carson's home in Taos. She was living with her uncle at the time. When the boy was brought in she could not tell him from an Indian. Carson had him washed up and provided with clothing. He tried first to converse with the boy in English, then in Spanish and afterwards in French. The boy seemed not to understand anything said to him. Carson then called Mr. Scheurich who spoke German to the boy. The latter immediately began to cry; it was his mother tongue. Mr. Scheurich learned the boy's name and the place of residence of his parents. He had been captured in Texas. Carson then hired some men to take the boy to the home of his relatives, and provided them at his own expense with supplies and provisions for the journey.

Another story often related by Mrs. Scheurich was of the rescue of two women from the Comanches, by her Uncle Kit. These women had been captured by the Comanches in old Mexico and carried off into slavery. They had learned of Carson's fame as an Indian fighter and knew that their captors had more or less cause to fear him. One day they heard that he was in the neighborhood of that portion of the tribe with which they were held. They made their escape and found him and his men. He employed some men of Taos to take them back to Mexico and restored them to their people.

The old world may boast of her William Tell, her

Robert Bruce or her Robin Hood, but there were no deeds more daring than those of our own Kit Carson. Many States claim the honor of his achievements. Kentucky brought him forth; Missouri boasts that she gave him to the West; Nevada named her capital city after him; New Mexico is proud to be called his home. Had he done no more than to free the mothers and daughters of this great State from the scourge of the Navajo, he would have earned the everlasting gratitude of her people.

NEW MEXICO IN THE GREAT WAR

(Continued)

VII Art, Drama, and Literature in War Service

Not only did New Mexico lay upon the national altar its material wealth, and, most precious of all, the flesh and blood of its young men, but its writers, singers, and painters contributed of their best to the winning of the War. Take but this instance as an example and a text:

The Helen Haire Levinson prize of \$200 for the best poem of the year was awarded in November 1918 by *Poetry* to John Curtis Underwood of Santa Fe for "The Song of the Cheochas," a strangely prophetic war poem. The United War Work Drive was on when Mr. Underwood received his \$200 check and he turned it over as a gift to the campaign committee. This significant and interesting incident gains in color if one emphasizes the setting and the circumstances.

Standing on the summit of the highest of the Truchas peaks, on a clear summer day, the vision encompasses all the State of New Mexico, thought it covers more than 78,000,000 acres. This vast region is populated by less than 400,000 people almost as diversified in language, habits, and origin as the peoples of Central Europe.

Here, to begin with, are the descendants of the original inhabitants, more than 20,000 Pueblos, Navajoes, and Apaches, clinging rather tenaciously to the language, religion, philosophy, and habits of life of their ancestors. Then there are about 130,000 descendants of the Spanish Conquerors who to a large extent still speak Spanish and retain the Latin mode of thought and attitude toward life. In the main their forefathers came from Andulasia but one also finds among them traces of Moorish blood and of other races and nationalities. However, these 130,000

Spanish-speaking people are homogeneous to a notable extent. In addition, New Mexico has some 25,000 other Spanish-speaking people, mostly men, who have come but lately from Mexico and in whose arteries runs a considerable portion of Indian blood. These three classifications account for one-half of the population. Of the remaining half, 30,000 are foreign-born representing more than a score of nations, from 150 Montenegrans to 7,000 Germans. Negros, Japanese and Chinese together account for 2,000 of the population. The 145,000 or so of the inhabitants not included in the above, represent the people who have come from other states—not a homogeneous mass, however, for the Texan of the lower Pecos Valley is differentiated from the Pennsylvania and Ohio Quakers of Colfax county by as wide a gulf as he is from the Spanish-speaking New Mexicans.

The reaction of all of these peoples to the Great War was significant of the genius of America to draw to herself all races and nationalities and eventually to make them sturdy patriots. The melting pot in Gotham presented no more interesting phenomenon during the crisis than did the sparse and widely scattered population of New Mexico. It is this meeting of the races and the nations amidst unusual environment which stamps itself forcibly upon those who settle in the Southwest, and which makes portions of New Mexico alluring to artist and writer. Especially in and around Santa Fe and Taos there have of late years congregated brilliant men and women whose vision like that of the Alpine climber on the Truchas peaks encompasses a wide horizon, and who appreciate fully the mystic age-old soul life and art that had developed in the Southwest long before the coming of the white man. Their attitude toward the War, their comment on what was going on around them, and their contribution toward victory were therefore of special significance.

To New Mexico, the War in its incipiency was very remote. Even when neighbors and friends volunteered, when

the National Guard was mustered into the service, when the draft took more and more of the men, the theater of the world-making events was still felt to be more or less in the blue distance. New Mexico has no ports out of which poured great flotillas, no shipyards nor marts of commerce throbbing with war activities, it had no great manufacturing industries turning out war material, and there were no great processions of soldiers to thrill the people.

Still, at the very beginning of the War, even before the United States had become one of the Allies, writers and artists gave expression to intense patriotism and prophecies of the coming days. As early as 1910, we find John Curtis Underwood writing:

America!

That's a great name. From Standish straight to Lincoln,
And her last soldier in the ranks today,
A land to live and die for. All the world
Waking, envisions her its heritage.

Two years later, in 1912, he published "Americans" and from it to "War Flames," in 1917, seemed but a day. The latter was inclusive of all the warring nations, even Germany, Austria and Russia, and gave a view so comprehensive that only a scholar, a voluminous reader and observer could and would have dared to present these vivid cosmopolitan sketches. It was written before the United States entered the war but was published by the MacMillan Company, in that epoch-making month of April, 1917. If all other books and papers referring to the Great War were destroyed, this little volume of less than 200 pages would still give posterity a gripping and well-rounded story of the agony of nations.

Now that the lights are dimmed, all outer dark rolls
near new tides of night.
Now that the earth spawns blood and hate and steel
and dynamite,
Now men grope bent in cellars blind down raw trench
trails of war

For some new clew to life we lost who served its
Minetaur.

What flared up in Bucharest, in Belgrade, in Sofia, in Berlin, in Paris, in a large human way, also flickered in reflection throughout the mining camps and ranges and towns of New Mexico and the poet presents it all in universal terms.

Then in *Poetry* of June, 1918, came "War Times," a cycle of four poems of tremendous impact, poems that smote the mists and fogs of sophistry, that dispelled prejudices and hatred, that revealed the God of Destiny and the glorious Tomorrow. There is "The Song of the Cheo-chas" who defended the ancient capital of Chechak although

They had no uniforms but their gray hair and beards,
needed none;

They had no rations but half a pound of dry bread
a day, and it sufficed them.

They were armed with rifles as old and battered as
themselves, and they battered the Germans back.

Three times they drove them back, and took that shattered and exploding capital away from them.

And many of them died by the way, where hundreds
were lying starving and freezing -

Dying on high Montenegrin mountains in the wind
and the snow that grew sleet,

So gray icicles grew on their beards and the sleet
cut cold skin on their faces.

And the wind cut their song into shreds, the song they
were singing when they died.

The Suabas are building houses, the Serbs shall live in
them.

The Suabas are planting corn, the Serbs shall eat it up,
The Suabas are pressing wine, the Serbs shall drink
of it.

A few months later saw this prophesy fulfilled, when the Serbs were living in houses build by the German invaders, were eating the bread for which the Austrians

planted the corn, and were drinking the wine that the Bulgars had tapped from the wine press.

"At Bethlehem," with its clang of huge steam hammers and the sparks from the red steel billets, recalls Schiller's "Song of the Bell":

For life ever fuses and flows,
Like the heart of a rose in the fire that eats up red
billets of steel like raw fagots of wood.
And a war is as good as a rose in the eyes of the Watch-
er of Space;
A war is as brief as a rose in its growth and its death
in the fires of the Forger of Stars.
And the fire ever burns out the dross in the depths of
the stone and the soul.
All the fires that ape or man ever kindled on earth
were lit and fused to keep these crucibles boiling.

"The Red Coffins" in its terseness sums up the Russian Revolution, its hopes, its disappointments, its significance:

To many it seemed
Like the red blood of Russia welling from a mortal
wound,
And some sacred fagots of freedom rising and kindling
a fire that would warm all the world
But no man there could tell the truth of it.

Finally "Down Fifth Avenue" preserves for posterity a word picture of young men marching into war with heads held high, eyes burning with zeal, souls thrilled with a vision of the world's freedom.

The past makes way for them.
This morning's discontent, yesterday's greed, last
year's uncertainty, are muted and transmuted to
a surging urge of victory.
Spirits that stood at Bunker Hill and Valley Forge,
Ticonderoga, Yorktown, Lundy's Lane, Fort Sum-
ter, Appomatox, are resurrected here;
With older fathers and mothers who farmed, and
pushed frontiers and homes for freedom west-
ward steadily;

With freedom's first grandfathers and forerunners,
who grew to hold hill towers and forest fast-
nesses, and range the sea and all its shores and
islands for the right to live for liberty.

And their blood beats in these boys' hearts, and their
hillbred and seabred strength is stirring in these
feet that beat their measured cadences of courage.

And each beat of their feet and each beat of their
hearts is a word in a gospel of steel that says the
nations through ruins grow one again;

When God's drill-master War has welded nations in
ranks that their children may serve Him together.
For Tomorrow makes way for them.

Truly no other war has ever had an interpreter like
John Curtis Underwood; no epoch a singer who expressed
so loftily the heart-yearnings and souls-stirrings of hu-
manity.

In a lighter vein, Underwood wrote a song "Concern-
ing Planting" to which the Vigilantes gave wide circula-
tion as an impetus to war gardening. Its refrain "Plant,
plant, plant," led thousands to take up spade and hoe to
help feed the Allies.

There were prophetic voices in the early stages of the
European War in New Mexico. Henry Herbert Knibbs,
the novelist, on November 28, 1915, then at Farmington,
wrote a poem "Men of My Country," which was returned
by a well known New York magazine with the comment
that its sentiments ran counter to the sentiments of the
people of the United States and therefore could not be
published. It deserves publication in permanent form:

MEN OF MY COUNTRY

Men of my country, awake from your dreaming!
Gather your strength ere too late to command!
O'er the far seas the wild war-star is gleaming!
Men of my country, the time is at hand!

Hear the shrill wail of the nations in anguish!
Hark to the moan of the homeless and maimed!
Would ye, as they, 'neath an alien languish,
Jest of the centuries, conquered and tamed?

Peace? Ye have fostered the name—would ye spurn it?
Power? Have ye scanned that drear lesson of old,
Sloth in the purple? Yea, Rome lived to learn it,
Paying her legions in perilous gold.

Lost is each hour that in silence ye cherish
Faith in the glory and fame that is past;
Wake! ere the soul of your loyalty perish
Singing its pride and disdain to the last.

What of the hearts and the homes that have reared ye;
What of the mother, the wife and the child,
When the brute mouth that once praised ye and feared
ye,
Laughs at them, naked, despoiled and defiled?

Gather your strength, for a new dawn is breaking
Red through the mist of a treachery planned
To blind ye to slumber and strike ye in waking---
Men of my country, the time is at hand!

Walter M. Danburg, later secretary of the State Council of Defense, about the same time, a year and a half before the United States formally declared war, wrote:

O Sun of the Western skies,
Gleaming so brightly today,
Shine on the soldiers of France,
Lead them to Vict'ry I pray.

O Sun of the Western Skies,
Beaming so brightly today,
Smile on the women of France,
Lighten their burdens I pray.

On the first anniversary of the Declaration of War against Germany by the United States he wrote:

Blow, bugles, blow!
Thrill every heart,
Until the Nation's pulse
Beats strong again.

It was early in the war when, despite the grimness of the world war, a chuckle, a smile, a broad grin spread over faces from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon. It had its origin in Santa Fe whence Mrs. Alice Corbin Henderson send out her deliciously humorous verses, "The Joke's on Kaiser Bill." It was first printed by the *Chicago Tribune*. How much it relieved an atmosphere tense with passions engendered by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the story of outrages in Europe, or war preparations, will never be told, but wherever it was read (and it was read everywhere, for few were the papers that did not print it sooner or later) one heard the refrain:

"Ten thousand Texas rangers are shakin' with wicked
glee,
At the joke of the German Kaiser in his fierce perplexity!
They are bustin' their buttons with laughin', they are
laughin' fit to kill,
"By Gawd," sez they, "but that's one on him! by Gawd,
but that's one on Bill!"

It is sure to have a permanent place in numberless scrapbooks, in anthologies, and will survive many of the more ambitious and serious poems of the War. Mrs. Henderson, who was then one of the editors of *Poetry*, contributed freely to the *Vigilantes* and her war poems breathed all the ardor of chivalry and passion for the great cause for which men were giving their lives. Who would not thrill to her "Son for Freedom"? And what a rebuke there was in her "The Man without a Country" to the profiteer, to the foreignborn resident upon whom this Nation conferred citizenship and untold blessings but whose sympathies were with the Nation's enemies. Prophetic too was "The Vision," written before America entered the War, as far back as those August days of 1914 when the world's

fate trembled in the balance; although published in *The Dial* only after peace was declared:

What do you see, Child of the Sun?
I see a race that is just begun.

Why are your eyes so full of light?
Because I come from Pools of Night.

What did you see beneath the waves?
I saw a world of weeping slaves.

What do you see, now you are free?
I see a world that is to be.

As each wave rose, I saw a crown
By eager upstretched hands pulled down.

As each crown sank, confused cries
And tempest thunders tore the skies.

Where the green wave had reared its head
Were pools of crimson blood instead;

But from each blood-encrusted wave
Uprose a spirit, shining, brave;

The joy of peace was in his eyes,
His wings were shot with changing dyes;

And in his wake the waters ran
And made a pathway for each man—

Each man and all that are to be,
No longer bound, but glad and free.

A poem wonderfully fine and poignant appeared in the July, 1917, issue of *Poetry*:

The great air birds go swiftly by,
Pinions of bloom and death;
And armies counter on shell-torn plains
And strive, for a little breath.
Pinnacled rockets in the gloom

Light for a little space
A gasping mouth, and a dying face
Blackened with night and doom —
As if in a little room
A sick man laid on his bed
Turned to his nurse and questioned when
Mass for his soul would be said.
Life is no larger than this,
Though thousands are slaked with lime,
Life is no larger than one man's soul,
One man's soul is as great as the whole
And no times greater than Time.

In April, 1918, Mrs. Henderson issued her appeal to America to send poets to the front to interpret the spirit of the Nation on the European battlefields and to record impressions for future generations. Said she: "The newspaper correspondent has an official position; there are official camera men, official moving picture photographers, why not poets in a similar capacity? As a matter of fact Italy has D'Annunzio at the front; John Masefield and Rudyard Kipling have visited western and eastern fronts and published their impressions; why not American poets?"

It was Mrs. Henderson's "Litany of the Desert," which appeared first in the *Yale Review*, that seemed to have made the most widely accepted appeal, for it appeared in the compilations of war literature, such, for instance, as "The Spirit of Democracy" by Lyman P. Powell. It was not intended for a war poem; in fact, it is such a contrast to the fervid and perfervid outbursts of poetic war frenzy that it bathes the spirit with a refreshing coolness and calm:

On the other side of the Sangre de Cristo mountains there is a great welter of steel and flame. I have read that it is so. I know nothing of it here.

On the other side of the water there is terrible carnage. I have read that it is so. I know nothing of it here.

I do not know why men fight and die. I do not know why men sweat and slave. I know nothing of it here.

Out of the peace of your great valleys, America, out of the depth and silence of your deep cañons,

Out of the wide stretch of yellow cornfields, out of
the stealthy sweep of your rich prairies,

Out of the high mountain peaks, out of the intense
purity of your snows,

Invigorate us, O America.

Out of the deep peace of your breast, out of the sure
strength of your loins,

Recreate us, O America.

Not from the smoke and the fever and fret, not from
the welter of furnaces, from the fierce melting-pots of
cities;

But from the quiet fields, from the little places, from
the dark lamplit nights—from the plains, from the cabins,
from the little house in the mountains,

Breathe strength upon us:

And give us the young men who will make us great.

Surely this was worthy of Walt Whitman and deserv-
ing of a place besides Kipling's "Recessional."

Mrs. Henderson's plea to send poets as official rep-
resentatives of America to the battlefield was not heeded,
but poets took their place in the ranks of the fighting men.
New Mexico sent, among other, Glenn Ward Dresbach of
Tyrone. His poem "The Man who would not go to War"
which first appeared in *The Forum* was widely copied and
quoted. Powerfully it pictured the young man reluctant
to shoulder the rifle, and his transformation through a
vision when—

In Troubled sleep

War came to him. In dreams he saw a host
Of strangers on the sky-line. Rifles cracked
And red death fell on his beloved friends,

And in his dream he saw

His father, with his gray head bared to death,
Stand on the door-step with his country's flag

Waving defiance. Then his father fell

And the flag fell across his silent breast.

The house leaped into flames. His sister rushed

Out of the door and raised the flag again.

She fell and over her the flag. He saw

A flash of fire from the doorway. There

His brother stood, firing as steadily

As those who faced him. From behind him came
His mother—and again the flag was raised

And madly in the dream he broke the chains
That seemed to hold him and cried out in sleep
A battle-cry that echoed through the house

And in the morning he left for town
With fire in his eyes, to volunteer.

An anonymous and humble poet from Santa Fe, at
Camp Kearny, on July 4, 1918, published in *Trench and
Camp* a "Song of the Drafted Men" which has a martial
swing to it that sings itself into the memory:

Uncle Sam is calling:—(How the drums reverberate!)
Rat-tat-tat! Rat-tat-tat!
'Boys, I need you!'—(Hear the trumpets celebrate!)
Ta-ra-ra! Ta-ra-ra!

'Freedom, which your fathers, and your
Fathers' fathers bled and died for
Is at stake!
Come, my young men, come my strong men,
Awake! Awake!'

Answer

'We are coming, Lafayette!
By the thousands, yea, by millions,
Row on row!
Where the Stripes are leading
We will follow—
Where the Stars point
There we go!'

In fact, it is a curious commentary on the spiritual
mindedness of America's young men, that the weekly issues
of *Trench and Camp* wherever it was published ran over
with columns and columns of verses — good, bad and in-
different — mostly bad but evidently sincere. An army
of fighters, such as the Americans proved themselves to
be, which expresses itself in verses and rhymes, surely

does not justify the charge of materialism that has been made against the Nation.

Mrs. Ruth Skeen, wife of State Senator M. P. Skeen of Artesia, among current poems wrote "Somewhere in France," which has sung itself into many a mother's heart:

Somewhere in France my soldier boy is fighting
Under two flags for truth, and honor, too;
I seem to hear those French lads calling,
"Coming at last! We've waited long for you."

C. M. Botts, recent president of the New Mexico Bar Association, deeply stirred a large audience in the high school auditorium at Albuquerque with his: "What is it Worth to You?"

What would you do toward winning the war,
If it all depended on you?
What would you think and how would you act,
And what would you say or do,
If a message were flashed from over the sea,
"Our army must yield, must flee,
Must bow to the Hun on bended knee,
Unless we can hear from you?"

What have you done in the conflict thus far?
I'm speaking, now, to you:
Answer this question—consider it well—
And be sure that your answer is true.

Sombre was the poem by Miss Rose Henderson of Silver City, addressed "To One in the Trenches":

I have dreamed vaguely of a flaming light
Growing somehow within the clash of things;
I have hoped wanly that the sodden night
Presaged a surprise and the rush of wings.
Is there such a spirit born of raining lead,
Such bloom of beauty from the shattered dead?

You who have known war's maiming, iron clutch,
Have breathed the wind of battle-breasting fire,
Is there a chastening vigor in the touch—
The writhing flesh, the stench of bloody mire?
Does there some rapture which pale peace withstood
Cry through the tumult that the earth is good?

Miss Henderson in the *New York Independent* gave a picture of "The Border" after Villa's raid on Columbus:

Stretches of yellow, glaring sand,
Gray dust smarting with alkali,
Mesquite huddled on either hand,
And a beaming, sun-drenched sky.

Creak of leather and clank of steel,
Khaki village and sun-burnt men,
Rising clouds when the horses wheel
Back to the camp again.

Mess and gossip and drill and rest,
Night with the white stars thickly sown,
Moonrise over the ragged crest,
And the coyote's dreary moan.

Hot gray rocks where the lizard runs,
Skulking greasers in haggard bands,
Swift brown horsemen, the click of guns,
And a splash of blood in the sands.

The late Mrs. Natalie Curtis Burlin of Santa Fe arranged the stirring old Negro folk-songs for use in the army camps. What a unique experience on the front in northern France it was to come upon a negro regiment trudging along and singing her "Hymn of Freedom," or to be in camp when this song with its marvelous swing and haunting lilt was sung in the old camp meeting spirit! Mrs. Burlin arranged the words so as to give the soldier a clear idea of the causes of the war and an understanding of the great human issues involved. It was in Washington, D. C., that a chorus of 2,000 voices first sang the "Hymn of Freedom" for a civic audience on a program in which Mrs. Baker, wife of the then secretary of War, took part. Since then this song to the Melody of "Ride on, Jesus, Ride on, Conquering King," has sung its way across the Atlantic, and from St. Helena Island, by way of Santa Fe and Taos, to Honolulu and Apia.

There have been many other poets and singers—minor,

and perhaps some major — whose songs culled from the New Mexico press, added to those which have appeared in the magazines of national circulation and to which reference has been made in part in this chapter, would make a voluminous and interesting anthology, but sufficient has been given to measure the patriotic fervor that was voiced in this commonwealth so far from the clamor of war and the frenzy of the battlefield.

Even the stolid native races felt it. It was on a day when the news from the battle front was particularly discouraging to patriots, that a band of Cochití braves came to the Museum of New Mexico, looked at the Red Cross posters, and then timidly approached one of the staff.

“We want a house!” their spokesman said.

“Why do you want a house?”

“We want to give a dance.”

“Why do you want to dance?”

“We want to do something for the Red Cross the same as white man,” was the brief reply.

They had come for thirty miles over a hard road, in wagons, bringing with them their katchinas or masques, their ceremonial costumes, in order to give the “Matachina” dance for the benefit of the Red Cross. That evening New Mexico’s capitol saw a sight such as will always live in the memory of those who attended. In the beautiful St. Francis Auditorium of the New Museum, these men and women from Cochití gave the “Matachina” dance with an enthusiasm, a spiritual exaltation, which made it a veritable prayer for victory to the Sky Father, which signified an implicit faith. As St. Michael triumphed over Lucifer, and the spirits of good defeated those of malevolent intent, so American arms would help win the War for Democracy. The story was vividly told by G. Wentworth Field in the October, 1918, *Red Cross Magazine*. During the performance of such dance dramas as the annual Corn Dance at San Felipe, May 1, at Santo Domingo, August 4, and elsewhere, booths for Red Cross Benefit were provided. Tell-

ing of such an episode at Taos, Marsden Hartley of Santa Fe (whose beautiful tribute to Joyce Kilmer in the December, 1918, number of *Poetry* was the finest wreath laid upon the dead poet's grave) says in *The Dial* of November 16, 1918:

"The Pueblos patriotically offered their services for the Red Cross and gave one of their rarest dances on the evening of July 4 at the hour of sunset, certainly one of the most beautiful spectacles, brief though it was, which I have ever witnessed. It is called the dance of mercy. It is the dance in its original form, as it has been given during the run of the centuries." The writer then describes the marvelous dramatic rite, closing with the comment: "And through it all you felt that here was the history of your native land enacted for your pleasure, written in the very language of the sun and the moon and the sky, the birds and the flowers, rain and running rivers, and that it was in this tongue that they might surely speak with each other to a perfect understanding." Does not this yield a glimpse of an aspect of life in New Mexico during the War that no other commonwealth shared with it? The Indians translated their patriotism into action and deeds. They were found in the ranks of the Army of Liberty. Captain Ashley Pond of Santa Fe one evening at the New Museum told of meeting four New Mexico Mexicans in a machine gun nest manned by seven Americans in the St. Mihiel sector, one of the four New Mexicans being a Laguna Indian, as stolid as if he were an onlooker at the Zuñi Fire Dance.

At Santa Clara, one of the older men made war bonnets and sold them for the benefit of the Red Cross. He invested \$1,100 in Liberty Bonds and gave freely to all war causes. Others followed his example and one of the most impressive war meetings held in the state was addressed in this pueblo by Miss Willard, who in simple terms explained to the Indians the causes for which America was giving her blood and treasure. When she explained

that the Germans treated the Belgian and French women as the old-time Navajoes, the hereditary enemies of the Pueblos, had treated their ancestors, a wild whoop of rage went up to the Sky Father from the assembled braves and the women and children crouched in fear.

The artists in New Mexico found it more difficult than the writers to make a place for themselves among the workers for Victory. An appeal for artists, like that of Mrs. Henderson's for poets at the front, was heeded by the United States Government only toward the end of the war, long after the other nations had commissioned eminent painters to perpetuate their battles and battle leaders upon canvas. So there were few war pictures credited to New Mexico artists. Gustav Baumann's "Fifth Avenue" was a striking picture of the great thoroughfare, brave with flags as the troops came marching along. Warren E. Rollins hung for exhibit four war paintings, one of a camouflaged ship, floating lazily at anchor near the Statue of Liberty, and another of a torpedoed ship going down in a turbulent sea. One was a portrait of his daughter as a Red Cross nurse and the fourth of a ship fighting off a submarine. He also blocked out in his studio in the Palace of the Governors, a striking conception of "Christ behind the Peace Table," a vision of the Saviour of Mankind standing behind President Wilson as he sits at the head of the table while the dignitaries of the Nations look earnestly at the spokesman of the American people. Dimly seen in the background are the marching hosts that gave up their life for World Democracy. The title of the picture: "Will ye crucify me again?" carries with it a world appeal, and emphasis of the truth that no question is settled until it is settled right.

Of course, young men among the artists, like Lee Hersch, sought enlistment and donned the uniform. Others like I. E. Couse the Academician gave their sons. The artists contributed liberally in the war drives and took the lead in war charities. At one time, in Taos, a score

gave paintings for a raffle that netted the Red Cross more than \$1,000. When Taos was scourged by the influenza epidemic, they fearlessly acted as nurses in afflicted homes and comforted the stricken in the houses of death. They organized the relief work and performed as brave deeds as were recorded on the field of battle, doing so unostentatiously, fearlessly, without thought of reward or fame. Mr. and Mrs. Burlin, Mr. and Mrs. Ufer, Victor Higgins, Miss Lucille Wrenn, Mr. and Mrs. Harwood and all the others in Taos during those terrible weeks when the population was actually decimated, worked day and night, sharing their own limited resources with those who had no means of their own,—going in and out among the sick and dying.

Of the Santa Fe artists, William Penhallow Henderson found a fine field for patriotic work, as a camoufluer at San Francisco. Together with B. P. O. Nordfeldt, now in Santa Fe, he developed the Pacific Coast "camouflage" to such an extent that it became a standard with which Atlantic Coast inspectors compared the work done in the eastern shipyards.

In the early spring of 1918, Ernest L. Blumenschein returned from New York filled with enthusiasm for the work taken up by the Salmagundo Club in furnishing material for "range finding paintings" for camps, cantonments, and armories. It was a work that had been developed in England early in the war and proved of great aid in training machine gun and rifle students. Mr. Blumenschein on his way to Taos lectured at the New Museum in Santa Fe and explained how these canvases could be utilized in teaching the men how to find the range, how to estimate distances, how to detect "cover," how to designate strategical points, and how to make maps. With these landscapes of country in northern France and in Belgium, the student officers also familiarized themselves with the aspects and topography of that portion of Europe. While it was not required that these pictures for utilitarian purposes should have artistic merit, the twenty "Range Finders" exhibited in the New Museum in the late summer

at Santa Fe before being sent to Camps Funston and Cody, proved a delight from the art stand-point to all visitors, for it seemed as if every one of the score of artists had taken pride in painting as beautifully as he knew how. Each canvas had an impress of individuality, and in some instances of a freedom and boldness which some of the painters lacked in their easel pictures. Both men and women contributed to the cause including E. L. Blumenschein, who was chairman for the Taos-Santa Fe sector, Gustav Baumann, Sheldon Parsons, Walter Ufer, O. E. Berninghaus, H. Paul Burlin, J. H. Sharp, Bert Phillips, W. H. Dunton, J. Young Hunter, Miss Harriet Blackstone, Miss Ethel Coe, Lee F. Hersch, Mrs. J. Wilson, and others. Leon Gaspard sent to the exhibit a stunning sketch for a war poster, and altogether it was a display as unique as it was remarkable.

When New Mexico dedicated its art museum at the capitol, during Thanksgiving week, 1917, there gathered for the impressive exercises a notable assembly of scientists, artists, writers, educators, of representatives of all the peoples, and at the same time the Dedication exhibit included the works of forty and more New Mexico artists, several of the paintings displayed being afterwards crowned with prizes and medals at eastern exhibits. Immediately afterwards, the woman's reception rooms in the fine new building were turned over to the Santa Fe Chapter of the Red Cross for its working quarters during the War. Part of the studios in the rear of the Palace of the Governors were assigned to the Board of Historical Service of the State Council of Defense and the west end of the Palace was given to the Child Welfare Service of the Woman's Division of the Council of Defense. The staff at the Museum gave itself to every phase of war work, from food conservation to supplying exhibits of paintings for the War Community Service in army camps, at the same time holding aloft the torch of art, literature, and science, having constantly in mind the noble words of the Hon. Frank Springer in his Dedication address:

"When European civilization, in the early centuries of our era, perished amid the convulsions of barbarism, darkness enveloped the earth. Letters, Art, and Science went into hiding, and the lights of human intelligence were well nigh extinguished. They flickered with feeble sparks in the Arab's tent and in the hermit's cave. It cost mankind a thousand years to rekindle the smouldering embers into flame. If the Twentieth Century is not to mark the beginning of another period of dark ages, it must be because those who do their part at home shall keep the lamps of knowledge burning. Great changes await us at the outcome of the present upheaval. To many of the old ways we shall not return, but out of the chaos of a world conflict this nation is destined to be born again—through pain and suffering, no doubt, in which we must all share. It is for us to realize, in such a crisis, that there is a duty to preserve as well as to destroy; to upbuild, as well as to tear down. Come what may, we shall face the tasks allotted to us as becomes the citizens of this great land, while at the same time we resolve that so far as in us lies enlightenment, and the kindred blessings which make life worth living, shall not perish on this earth."

PAUL A. F. WALTER

VIII—To the Colors

A hundred years ago, a military force which we might speak of as the national guard of that time, was being described to the cortes assembled in Cadiz, Spain, by Don Pedro Bautista Pino of Santa Fe, deputy from the Province of New Mexico. He stated that the military force which for many years had safe-guarded this inland realm for the Spanish monarchy consisted of a paid force of 121 officers and men, supplemented in emergencies by three troops of militia.

Two weeks after the United States entered the Great War, when the president on April 21, 1917, called the national guard into federal service, New Mexico could muster a total strength of only 88 men,—49 officers and 39 enlisted men.

As described in a preceding chapter, the New Mexico national guard had, shortly before, completed a service of eleven months on the Mexican border from May 9, 1916, until mustered out on April 5, 1917. As only 88 of the guardsmen had taken the federal oath prescribed by the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, all the others were automatically discharged—strange as it may seem, the very day before war was formally declared by our federal government. The outcome of this situation, however, was that the national guard of New Mexico became a force of volunteers more completely perhaps than the guard of any other state—volunteers for service in this specific war.

General Pershing was then in command of the southern department and he was authorized by the secretary of war to recruit the national guard of New Mexico to full strength. When it became apparent, early in May, that federal recruiting was not securing the desired results, matters were speeded up by Adjutant General James A. Baca, who inaugurated a recruiting campaign and sent officers out over the state at state expense. In consequence of both federal and state efforts approximately 1,300 men mobilized at Camp Funston, or "Camp Kitchener," near Albuquerque on June 11, 1917. How this compared with the mobilization in other states was thus stated by the *Deming Headlight* of July 27th:

"According to the number of men furnished to the national guard in proportion to the population, New Mexico ranks fifth in the list of states. New Mexico's percentage is 351 men to every 100,000 of her population, a percentage that is exceeded by only Kansas, South Dakota, Maine, Vermont, all of them more thickly populated states than New Mexico."

That rather formidable difficulties were encountered and overcome in this mobilization is indicated by the following quotation from a report made some months later by the adjutant general to the state council of defense:

"As fast as recruits were obtained they were sent to

the nearest company rendezvous, at state expense, inasmuch as the federal government did not pay transportation and subsistence of recruits from point of enlistment to company rendezvous. Clothing and bedding were not available from the federal government and for sanitary reasons the state was compelled to rent cots and bedding and purchase such clothing as was absolutely necessary. In localities having no armories the state rented the most suitable quarters available for quartering recruits prior to being sent to the mobilization camp. Some medical attention was necessary and at points where the service of a medical officer of the national guard were not available civilian doctors were employed by the state."

Notwithstanding the problems thus indicated as well as the problems of great distances and inadequate transportation, Adjutant General Baca could report that the work of recruiting and mobilizing had been effected at a total cost of \$14,839.95, or a per capita cost of \$11.42. This expense was met as authorized by Governor Lindsey, by the state council of defense, out of the public defense fund, as was also the further expense incurred in establishing Camp Funston on the mesa near Albuquerque, which amounted to a total of \$19,938. 18.

The 1st New Mexico Infantry and the Sanitary Detachment were given about four months of intensive training at this camp and on October 16th these two units were entrained for Camp Kearny at Linda Vista, California. Two weeks earlier it had been announced that the 1st New Mexico had been designated as the 159th Infantry Reg., U. S. N. G., which news was followed almost immediately by the announcement that the New Mexico troops were to be broken up into two machine-gun companies, the 143rd and the 144th. Upon arrival in Linda Vista this change was carried out, part of the New Mexicans being used also in forming the 115th Headquarters and Military Police.

Three weeks before, Battery A, now designated as the 146th Field Artillery, had been transferred from Albuquerque to Charlotte, North Carolina. After some three

months of additional training there, another transfer took this unit to Camp Mills, Long Island, and shortly afterwards to Camp Merritt, New Jersey. The rumors that Battery A had embarked were not definitely confirmed until early January, 1918, when letters reached some of the New Mexico homes reporting the arrival of the battery in France. This unit of about 190 men under Captain Charles M. De Bremond was the first contingent which was distinctively New Mexican to get across. The 89th and 40th divisions, which included so many National Army and National Guard men of this state, did not follow until the months of June and September respectively.

While the recruiting for the national guard was still in full swing, the machinery for assembling the U. S. National Army through the selective draft was being worked out. June 5, 1917, will always be remembered as one of the most significant days in the history of our great democracy. In New Mexico as elsewhere it was a day observed by patriotic assemblies, impassioned addresses by leading citizens, and enthusiastic parades in every city, town and plaza. Out of a population of 354,000 there was during the war a total registration for the state of 79,911 men of draft age,—this figure including the registrants of June 5, and August 24, 1918. Of this total 8,505 men were inducted and finally accepted for military service during the fourteen months from September, 1917, to October, 1918. This figure includes a number of men who were subsequently discharged for various reasons but does not include 498 men who were inducted by their local boards but who by reason of physical defects were not accepted when they reached the camps to which they had been entrained.

No very large alien population appeared in connection with the draft except in the counties of Colfax, McKinley, and Grant, where there are quite a number of this type of residents in the employ of mines and railways. In Grant County some 1,300 registrants could not be reached with questionnaires, most or all of whom were evidently natives of Mexico. It may be said in this connection that relatively

few New Mexicans failed to register and had to be classed as delinquents, and very few brought dishonor to their state. Only four men to date have been officially reported as deserters, while early in the war there were two cases of court-martial for other causes.

During 1914-1918, the five war-years, 475 aliens were naturalized as against 337 during the preceding eight years while the flow of immigration was still running. Perhaps some of these 475 thereby sought to repudiate the claims of their natal lands, but it is equally true that all of them gave up the right as aliens to exemption from military service and accepted the full responsibilities of citizenship in the land of their adoption. The two nationalities most largely represented in these naturalizations were German and English,—a fact which is open to varied interpretations and may call for fuller consideration than is here possible.

Perhaps this is the best opportunity for a word with regard to the patriotism of our citizens of Spanish-American descent, for it is a strange perversion of mind which sometimes leads people in other parts of the United States to consider half the population of New Mexico as alien and even to confuse our state with Mexico. It is probably true that in no other state of the union may one attend civic gatherings of all sorts, court sessions, and even the inaugural of a governor where two languages are used as a matter of course, but so also is it true that if any comparison be made it must be recognized that those who are native to the soil from Spanish times are more legitimately New Mexicans than are later arrivals of other nationalities and their descendants.

Citizens of Spanish-American descent must not be confused with unnaturalized residents from Mexico. Some thousands of alien Mexicans have enjoyed temporary domicile in New Mexico during recent years and many of them have gladly become sons of this country by adoption, but those who have remained alien in heart and conduct have found the native Mexican of this state even less compatible than the Anglo-American.

Definite figures with regard to exemption claims are not here given,—nor are they necessary for estimating the loyalty of our citizenry. Anyone who shared or even observed in a very superficial way the correspondence which passed between the boys in service and the folks around the home fires has no need for figures; he knows of his own experience the high order of loyalty which glowed upon the altars of our state. It was voiced by that mother who asked that the national anthem be one of the hymns used when the body of her last-born lay under the stars and stripes before her; it is the incense which rose from the letters of all those who were called upon to mourn, whether those letters were written in Spanish or in English. Truly the poet was right when he interpreted life in the words—

“Love’s strength standeth in love’s sacrifice,
And he who suffers most hath most to give.”

The patriotism of the forefathers of all true New Mexicans has been distilled anew in their sons. “Mac’s,” “O’s,” “De” and “Di’s,” “Von’s,” plain “sons” by the score; “Jones” and “Garcia,” “Smith” and “Chavez,” “Martinez” and “Miller,” “Baca” and “Baker,”—names and their prefixes may indicate origins or they may appear in seemingly endless repetition. The real meaning of a name, however, is what its bearer makes it stand for, and countless New Mexico names today are wreathed by patriotic service nobly done.

In addition to the men who entered military service through the national guard and national army, there was another considerable aggregate of men who answered the call by volunteering in the regular army, in the navy, and along lines of special service. All postmasters in the state were authorized to accept enlistments and to forward recruits to the nearest recruiting station, as at Albuquerque, Gallup, Raton, Clovis, Tucumcari, Roswell, Alamogordo, Deming, Silver City. From such sub-stations men were

given transportation to the army or navy station in El Paso, or in some cases to one of these stations in Denver; if accepted, a recruit was there given his rating and entrained for one of the camps for assignment. Of course, those within draft age had first to secure releases from their local boards.

The requirements for, and restrictions on, voluntary enlistment were repeatedly modified, no recruits at all being received for some weeks during the summer of 1918. In spite of transient difficulties along this line, however, some 1,250 New Mexicans entered the U. S. Navy and approximately 4,000 volunteers entered various branches of the army, in addition to the men who enlisted through the selective service and the national guard.

The total of New Mexicans in all branches of military service, as shown by the records kept by the State Historical Service, was 17,251. Figuring on the population of state and nation as 354,000 and 110,000,000 respectively, the U. S. Army and Navy should proportionately have had a total strength of 4,661,000 enlisted up to November 11, 1918, which is a total considerably larger than the whole number reported by the federal authorities. In other words, New Mexico stood well above the average among the states in the number of men she contributed to the cause.

A few of those who served during the war were already in army or navy before 1914; others answered the call from Europe before our nation declared war, getting across and into Canadian, Scotch, English, or French service in various ways. Still others followed immediately after war was declared, as Joe Quesenberry of Las Cruces, captain of the U. S. soldiers who took the first German prisoners and who later gave his life while serving as major in the "Great Spring Drive." Quesenberry got across by securing a transfer from the 37th to the 18th Infantry. Carl Meyer of La Luz was another, the only one of his Coast Artillery unit to answer a call for six volunteers to complete the 3rd Trench Mortar Battalion. Rev. R. C. Jackson of

Farmington became a major in kilties and veteran of many a bloody field in Belgium, and was typical of many New Mexicans who succeeded in getting across early in the game.

Few even in New Mexico know that nearly a hundred Indians from this state joined the ranks—Jicarilla and Mescalero Apaches, Navajoes, Pueblos from Taos, San Juan, Santa Clara, Nambé, San Felipe, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi. Perhaps those who scoffed in 1917 when it was suggested to raise troops among these citizens realized later that hundreds of them might have responded if they had been invited to enlist.

It is safe to say that every profession and business had representatives in military service,—doctors, editors, ministers, dentists, lawyers, bankers, teachers, herders from the plains, ranchers from mountain and valley, clerks, miners, cowboys, merchants, mechanics,—no civic occupation can be named which did not contribute of its strength. The whole football team at the State University went into service. Every institution of higher education has proudly shown a service flag; and may it be said here, even the state penitentiary had graduates in service.

More than one editor shoved aside the typewriter to seize an automatic or an Enfield. It is interesting to note that of nearly 500 cowboys in service a relatively large number from this arid state elected to ride the waves; and at least one playwright rode the clouds for Uncle Sam. To the cowboys also we owe the picturesque phrase so frequently used by recruits that they were "just r'arin' to go."

In June, 1918, at the time of the second registration, Capt. R. C. Reid stated that the proportion of volunteers to drafted men for the United States was 66% and for New Mexico was 84%. Not until after the June calls of 1918 did the total of selective service men forge ahead of the total of volunteers.

Distinctions between the regular army, the national army, and the national guard—and indeed the U. S. Navy—promptly became uncertain. Naval marines fought at

Chateau Thierry and in Belgium; regular army men served on ships; selective service men were used to fill up National Guard units, and men were detached from the National Guard for replacement use overseas. Engineers and motor men, medical corps and quartermaster's department were essential to all branches, of course, and distinctions soon had no value except for convenience at headquarters.

New Mexicans were mixed like leaven apparently throughout the whole army, as is revealed by even a cursory glance at the units which included men from this state. Such a tabulation of aero squadrons, for example, includes, those numbered 11, 13, 27, 28, 30, 31, 36, 84, 89, 90, 103, 109, 113, 160, 165, 173, 181, 186, 190, 193, 195, 196, 210, 218, 228, 229, 236, 257, 270, 281, 313, 317, 328, 336-8, 350, 353, 356, 357, 360, 369, 372, 474, 475, 477, 485, 496, 607, 615, 626, 635, 636, 642, 644, 656, 808, 810-12, 823, 836, 869, 1103, and 1105.

As one other illustration take the engineers. Besides 151 men from this state in the two forestry regiments, the 10th and the 20th, and 226 railroad men of New Mexico in 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 31, 32, 39, 47, 48, 53, 62, 63, 69, and 503 (all of which were railway regiments), the state was also represented in the following regiments of engineers: 2-8, 9 (mounted), 11, 16, 25-29, 30 ("Gas and Flame"), 33-37, 41-44, 58, 65, 66, 70, 81, 98, 102-107, 109-111, 113-118, 127, 128, 132, 136, 143, 144, 147, 149, 209-11, 213, 214, 219, 220, 302, 309, 313-315, 318, 319, 428, 468, 502, 507, and 529. These lists might be considerably lengthened if all individual records in the archives were full in detail.

It is known, however, that the divisions in which New Mexicans served included the 1-13, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25-33, 34 ("Sandstorm"), 35-37, 40 ("Sunshine"), 41, 42 ("Rainbow"), 77-80, 82, 83, 85-92, 97, and 101; and it may readily be appreciated, when the war-record of these divisions is reviewed, that New Mexico shared in very diversified lines

of service. It is worth noting that New Mexicans served in ten of the thirteen divisions which made up our "Army of Occupation" in Germany.

Of the total of about 450 physicians in the state, 115 applied for and received commissions in the medical corps, and many of the others gave valuable service as examiners and on medical advisory boards. The efficiency of this latter service is evidenced by the fact that of 7,858 men inducted from February 10th to September 9th, 1918, only 307 were rejected for physical defects at the various camps. This percentage of rejections, 3.9%, was the lowest of all states in the union save one.

In this connection record may well be made of the fact that the Red Cross at Camp Cody steadfastly refused to take into its service any man who could get into the army, and also of the fact that no one of the Red Cross personnel at that camp served on a salaried basis. New Mexico was well represented in other lines of service, also, not actually enlisted and yet "with the colors," a total of at least 40 men and 25 women having been reported as serving in the Y. M. C. A., the K. of C., the Y. W. C. A., and the Red Cross.

In joining the colors the men of New Mexico were dispersed in many camps. Camp Kitchener at Albuquerque was not maintained after the national guardsmen were transferred to Camp Kearny, in spite of the various inducements held out to the federal authorities, although part of it was again utilized in the fall of 1918 for the students in training at the State University. Radio men and mechanics were trained at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and barracks were built there also for the student training work. Other recruits of the S. A. T. C. were in training at the Military Institute also, but the only cantonment on a large scale within the state was Camp Cody at Deming.

All the men of the first draft, and the men drafted in March and April, 1918, went to Camp Funston, at Fort

Riley, Kansas. Most of them were trained there, though quite a number were transferred almost immediately to fill the ranks of units at Camp Kearny.

During the month of May, 1918, three state quotas were entrained: 274 men to Fort MacDowell in California, 985 to Camp Cody, and 443 to Fort Sam Houston in Texas. In June, 176 stockmen were sent to Camp Lee in Virginia for training; 400 men were sent to Camp Mabry at Austin, Texas, for mechanical training; 489 additional men were placed at Camp Cody, and a small number went to Vancouver Barracks, Washington.

There was only one large call during July, that for 740 men to entrain for Camp Travis, Texas.

In August, about 40 colored recruits were sent to Camp Funston. During the same month there were calls for 200 more men to Camp Cody, for 1,000 to Camp Pike at Little Rock, Arkansas, and for 154 radio men and mechanics to the State College at Mesilla Park.

September saw the departure of 8 more colored men for training at Camp Travis, 101 men to Camp Bowie at Fort Worth, Texas, 400 men to Camp McArthur at Waco, Texas, and 54 men for limited service to Camp Cody. Only one small contingent got away in October, 44 men going to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, for limited service. Subsequent calls were cancelled owing to the epidemic of Spanish influenza.

Navy recruits, from both the Denver and El Paso stations, were forwarded chiefly to San Francisco and San Diego, though later a few went to Charleston, S. C., and to Long Island. Most of the army recruits went from Denver to Fort Logan, and from El Paso to Fort Bliss, beyond which points the state records did not follow them. Men were reported, however, at the following additional camps among others: Camp Humphries, Washington; Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga.; Camp John Wise, near San Antonio; Camp Upton, New York; Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.; Camp Zachary Taylor, Louisville, Ky.; American Lake, Wash.;

Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.; Camp Perry, and Camp Sherman, Ohio; and Camp Morrison, Va. Here again we see how widely scattered geographically our men were after joining the colors.

Thanks to the high standing and past efficiency of the New Mexico Military Institute, and also to the military training which many of our men had received at the State College and the University, a proportionately large number of New Mexicans entered service as commissioned officers or speedily won commissions. The Institute reported 80 former students holding such rank in army and navy; the roll of Chaves County showed 61; the honor-roll of the State College gave 50. Of all commissioned officers from the state at least 32 served in higher posts as field officers. As to New Mexicans who won places as "non-com's" the total was proportionately large.

Officers of the national guard did not receive federal commissions until they had first passed rigid examinations, and all others also who applied for commissions had to prove their worthiness. Two men won lieutenancies at Fort Riley as early as August, 1917, and 28 other commissions were awarded the same month to New Mexicans who successfully completed the first reserve officers' training course at the Presidio in San Francisco. As other training camps of this type followed, at Leon Springs, Texas, at Camp Kearny and elsewhere, additional lists of graduates and awards were announced from time to time. But here again any complete statement of results is as yet impossible. Details as to promotions during service, of citations and decorations received by officers and by men in the ranks, are to be found in the individual records in the State archives.

As one looks back to the spring and summer of 1917 he realizes that the people of New Mexico, as was the case for all the states, travelled far in the two short years of the war. In a war address at Albuquerque late in July, 1917, Col. E. C. Abbott charged that a great many men were

planning to plead exemption on the ground that their services were needed in agricultural lines. It is true that the proportion of exemption claims were relatively very numerous that summer, but this situation gradually changed as the people over the state came to understand better the merits of the case and began to realize the powerful motives impelling us to respond to the call to arms. War propaganda through the press and pulpit and public forum wrought a speedy unifying of the people against the menace of the Hun as they came to appreciate how that menace darkened the horizon of our country and therefore of our own state.

Of course cities and towns on the railroad were more accessible to telegraphics from overseas and from other parts of the country, and the people of these places were naturally more immediately responsive. The *Carbon City News* of May 5, 1917, for example, reports a rousing "Spanish-American Patriotic Meeting." In the next column are two paragraphs, "Gallup Girls to Try for Navy Stenographers" and "War Closer Home to Gallup People;" and still another frontpage lead reads, "Recruits Flocking to Colors." On the other hand it was well towards the end of 1917 before some of the small country newspapers indicated any real awakening of the people to the national and world crisis. But that awakening, when it did finally reach home to the remote parts of our state, is well illustrated by the cowboy who came loping over the plain to a little waystation on the Rock Island, just in time to turn his favorite saddle-horse loose with a parting slap and to swing onto the train—off for the recruiting station in El Paso.

"Draft Day" was treated as a holiday, even in places so small that there was nowhere for a parade to march save twice or thrice around a little plaza; and when the time came for quotas of selective service men to entrain, there were glorious send-offs. In some places it was the men who went who gave the parting banquet or dance,

declaring that it was their wish thus to show how they appreciated the honor of being the ones chosen to go.

When the national guardsmen left Albuquerque for Linda Vista on the morning of October 16th, they were presented with 9,000 oranges and apples and great crowds gathered to bid them "Godspeed." Similar in kind were the reports of departures which came in from all parts of the state, but one illustration must suffice, taken from the record of one of those who did not return:

La noche antes del día de su partida una concurrida reunión de parientes y amigos le dieron la despedida, y se profirieron algunos breves discursos que emanaban de corazones simpáticas que aunque sentían la separación de un joven cuya vida era un modelo, lo animaban a ir a cumplir un deber que la nación Americana y el mundo entero demandaba.

Lo mas impresivo y patético tomó lugar cuando los que le acompañaron hasta el acostumbrado lugar donde solemos salir con nuestros jóvenes le dimos el último adiós, al ver a dos hombres como de seis piés de altos abrazarse el uno al otro para despedirse para siempre,—nuestro joven Tafoya y su digno y apreciado padrastro quienes no pudieron contener sus lágrimas sino que las dejaban desgranarse y surcar sus mejillas sellando en aquel distinguido sitio un amor puro y no fingido que cultivaron en el hogar, como también cubriendo la mas leve ofensa cometida por el uno en contra del otro. Allí principió el inmenso sacrificio de la familia el cual culminó cuando nuestro fiel patriota fue ofrecido en el altar de la Libertad e Independencia, muriendo por la pureza de los hogares Americanos y por la integridad de los Estados Unidos de América. Se cantó, antes de la separación, aquel himno nacional:

God bless our splendid men,
Send them safe home again,
God bless our men.
Make them victorious,
Faithful and chivalrous,
They are so dear to us,
God bless our men.

The spirit which animated the men of New Mexico who answered the call to the colors and the spirit which animated the people from whose midst they went forth was fittingly voiced in a hymn which sprang from the heart of one of our own poets and which was dedicated by him "To the Soldiers of New Mexico:"

Os vimos a la lid marchar,
Soldados de Neo-Méjico,
Al grito de la Libertad,
Soldados de Neo- Méjico;
Y¡ cuan gloriso no os será
Pelear allende el Bravo Mar
Por Dios y por la Libertad,
Soldados de Neo-Méjico!

LANSING B. BLOOM

UNCLE SAM'S CAMEL CORPS

FRED S. PERRINE

It is hard for this generation to realize, in the present day of aeroplanes and automobiles, the transportation problems faced by Uncle Sam in the great Southwest, three-quarters of a century ago. Guarding the then frontier against the raids of the Apaches, Comanches and other savage tribes, and locating and building roads thru that vast country to the Pacific coast, was indeed a problem.

One of the greatest troubles experienced was the transportation of troops and supplies across the arid plains of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California, and the various mountain chains of the three latter states, or rather, territories.

Prominent among the leaders of a new scheme of transportation were Major Henry C. Wayne, U. S. A., and Edward F. Beale, formerly an officer in the Navy, but at that particular time, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California.

For years Major Wayne had been an exponent of a system of army transportation in which camels or dromedaries were to be used as a means of conveying troops and supplies across the desert plains of the Southwest, from the Mississippi River to California. He was ably seconded by Superintendent Beale, who as a member of Commodore Stockton's command, had made several trips across the continent, to and from Washington, D. C., with dispatches for the government, and who undoubtedly realized, more than any one else the necessity of a better means of transportation for the troops and their supplies, than the horse and mule trains then being used.

Enlisting the support of Hon. Jefferson Davis, who was then Secretary of War, and who was heartily in accord with the experiment, Congress was appealed to for

an appropriation to purchase camels and dromedaries, and to provide funds for carrying out the experiment. For several years Secretary Davis made recommendations to Congress, and at last an appropriation of \$30,000.00 was made, which was approved on March 3, 1855.

No time was now lost, and on May 10, 1855, Major Wayne was ordered to proceed to the Levant; Lieutenant David D. Porter, then in command of the U. S. Storeship "Supply," which was at that time in New York harbor taking in supplies for the Mediterranean squadron, received instructions to meet Major Wayne at Spezzia, after discharging cargo, and to co-operate and act jointly with him in the purchase of such camels and dromedaries as they were able to obtain.

Major Wayne's instructions were very explicit. He was to obtain all the information that was possible in England, and especially from the French War Ministry, who had been using camels in Africa for some time. He visited the Zoological Gardens in London where several camels were in captivity, then proceeded to Paris, where he secured all the information that was available. In the meantime Lieutenant Porter had arrived at Spezzia, and learning that Major Wayne would not arrive for at least a week, decided to go to Pisa, where there was a herd of about 250 camels, the property of the grand duke. Gleaning all the data that he could regarding the habits etc., of the camel, he returned to Spezzia, where he was met by Major Wayne. Upon comparing notes they decided that there were a great many things regarding camels that they did not know, and in order to secure this knowledge first hand they sailed for Tunis, July 30, 1855, where they purposed to buy one camel, so that they could study its habits and its management on shipboard. Arriving at Tunis they made their purchase of a sample camel, and were very agreeably surprised when they were advised by the Bey of Tunis, that he would be very much pleased to present to them as a gift to the President and the people of the United States,

a fine camel. On the 9th of August they received two camels as gifts, instead of one, both stallions, one full grown and the other young.

With the three camels on board the ship set sail for Malta, Smyrna, and finally arrived at Constantinople. Reporting from this place Major Wayne states that on the voyage the camels had given them less trouble than horses would have done, but that one of them showed symptoms of the itch, a very common affliction among camels.

After making a trip to the Crimea, where they received considerable information from British officers, they returned to Constantinople, where it was decided to sell the camel which had developed the itch, and also the one which they had purchased in Tunis. Accordingly they were landed and sold to a butcher "for purposes best known to himself" for 1096 piastres equal to about \$44.00.

While at Constantinople our officers were informed that the Sultan wished to present to them, four fine camels. There was such a delay, however, in getting them from the interior, that the ship was compelled to sail for Alexandria, Egypt, without them. In Egypt, it was expected that they would be able to purchase ten dromedaries and four camels of burden. Major Wayne bought five dromedaries at Cairo, trusting to luck to get a permit to ship them, there being an embargo on their exportation from the country. He applied for permission to export 20 camels and after much correspondence permission was granted to ship two. After a great deal of wire pulling he received a permit to ship two males and two females, and it was not until Consul General Edwin DeLeon took a hand in the matter that permission was granted for the exportation of ten camels. In his report Major Wayne states "Yesterday, at Mr. DeLeon's request, I gave him two Minie rifles, as he said he had promised them to the viceroy on the 30th ultimo. To make the gift complete I added a bullet-mould

and a swedge." This is undoubtedly, the answer to the question, "How did he get the permit?"

After the question of the permit was settled, the viceroy of Egypt decided that he would like to present to the United States six of the very finest dromedaries in Egypt. Let us see what Lieutenant Porter has to say about this very valuable present, in his report to the Secretary of War:—

It was very gratifying to me to hear that we were to receive six dromedaries from his highness the viceroy's own stock. Of course I expected nothing but the very best blood of Oman or Nubia, knowing that the eastern potentates take a pride in making presents of the choicest kind. I felt that you would be very much disappointed in our bringing home so few dromedaries, and I was very glad to get the six that were promised. The selection of the animals was placed in the hands of the governor of Alexandria; he passed the matter on to the next in office, and he in turn passed it on still to a "cavass" or under officer, who went to work to make a handsome profit out of the business. After more than a week's delay, and many inquiries on my part as to when we might expect them, I was at last informed that the dromedaries were ready, to be delivered to any one I might send for them. I sent an officer to receive them, who returned in a few minutes and informed me that the animals were wretched in appearance, and so rotten with disease, that he would not take the responsibility of accepting them without further orders. To avoid all mistakes, I went and inspected them myself, and found them infinitely worse than they had been represented; they were not dromedaries at all, but the common street camel of Alexandria, the most ill used and wretched looking beast in the world. What made the matter worse, two of them had been purchased by Major Wayne, in Cairo, and rejected, on their arrival in Alexandria, because they turned out to be diseased, and they were about the best of the lot presented.

The whole affair, at first, looked like a studied insult, for the purpose of turning the expedition into ridicule. I promptly refused to receive the present, and the accom-

panying correspondence took place, which will explain the whole affair to you.

I felt that there was some improper course pursued by the subordinates of the pasha, and I thought it my duty to expose it. Mr. DeLeon approved of my course, and warmly seconded my remonstrances. These letters will tend to show how many impediments are thrown in the way of strangers in the prosecution of any purpose in Egypt. The well intended liberality of his highness the viceroy is often turned aside by his subordinates, who thereby reap some small advantage themselves, at the risk even of meeting with severe punishment. This piece of trickery caused another delay of a week; but when it was brought to the notice of his highness the viceroy, he put the matter in proper hands, and in seven days a fair lot of dromedaries were brought down from the interior, and six were selected out of fifteen, two males and four females.

The "Supply" sailed from Alexandria for Smyrna, with nine dromedaries, six of which had been presented by the viceroy of Egypt, and the Tunis camel. At Alexandria three Arabs were hired to accompany the expedition to America, and serve for one year. The care of the camels was under the direction of Albert Ray, wagon and forage master, who had served in the Mexican war, and who had enlisted with Lieutenant Porter for this particular purpose. Mr. G. H. Heap, who had been sent ahead from Alexandria to Smyrna to purchase the balance of the cargo, had succeeded in his duty, and on the arrival of the "Supply" at Smyrna, the camels and dromedaries purchased by him were embarked.

The roll call of this first cargo of camels was as follows:—

1 Tunis camel of burden	male.
1 Senaar dromedary	male.
1 Muscat dromedary	female.
2 Siout dromedaries	males.
4 Siout dromedaries	females.
1 Mt Sinai dromedary	male.
2 Bactrian camels	males.

- 1 Booghdee or Tuilu, male, produce of the Bactrian male and the Arabian female.
4 Arabian camels of burden males.
15 Arabian camels of burden females.
1 Arabian camel, 24 days old male.
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These camels were to be landed at Indianola, Texas, where the expedition expected to arrive about April 15, 1856.

On the 13th of April, 1856, the "Supply" put into Kingston, Jamaica, where they remained about two weeks. The arrival of the "Supply," at Kingston created quite a furor, as few of the inhabitants had ever seen a camel, and on one day more than 4000 people visited the menagerie abroad the "Supply." The voyage so far had been very stormy, and a severe gale and head winds had prevented their stopping at the Canary Islands, as was the original intention.

On April 29, 1856, they made Pass Cavallo, and on the 1st of May were met by the steamer "Fashion," Captain Baker, with two schooners in tow. After making the attempt to transfer one of the camels, they gave it up as a bad job, as there were too many chances of injuring the camels on account of the roughness of the sea. It was decided therefore to make for Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi, and so on the 10th of May the camels were transferred to the "Fashion" in the south west passage of the Mississippi River. On May 14, 1856, the cargo was safely landed at "Powder Horn," Indianola, Texas, thirty-four camels being brought ashore, being one more than they had started with.

On the voyage six calves were born, of which four died, and one of the original thirty-three died. This left thirty-two of the original stock, and two calves, all of which were landed safely.

The cost of the expedition up to date had been about

\$8000.00 leaving \$12,000.00 placed to the credit of Major Wayne, still to be expended. Owing to the very favorable reports which had been made by both officers, together with the fact that more animals were needed to complete the experiment, and also because the appropriation had been only partly expended, Lieutenant Porter received orders dated June 26, 1856, to return to the East for another cargo. He was accompanied by Mr. G. H. Heap, who had proven so valuable on the first expedition.

We will leave the second expedition here and take up the story of the first cargo which had been landed at Indianola. On June 4, Major Wayne left with the camels and after thirteen days travel arrived at San Antonio. They had been loaded lightly for the trip and all arrived safely, and without having caused any trouble. On this trip a female camel was born, which unfortunately, survived only one day.

A camping place had already been arranged at the head waters of the San Pedro, about two miles from town. This site was owned by the corporation of San Antonio, and was occupied "free of any charge." A few days later Major Wayne reported that the proximity to town was not beneficial to either the men or animals, and the camp was moved out to the Medina to the ranch of Major Howard of San Antonio, with whom temporary arrangements had been made. After several weeks of investigation a permanent camp was made at Green Valley, and named Camp Verde, where buildings were erected to shelter the animals. During this interval, two of the animals had died, both females, one evidently from "a heavy blow or blows inflicted on the neck of the animal" and the other from causes unknown.

And now we come to a very interesting item, not only an historical item, but one which shows that every effort was made to put the camel in as favorable light as possible, with the "powers that were." Major Wayne wrote to Secretary Davis that he was enclosing "herewith a pair of

socks knit for the President by Mrs. Mary A. Shirkey, of Victoria, Texas, (lately of Virginia) from the pile of one of our camels." There is no record to show whether President Pierce received these socks, or if Secretary Davis confiscated them for his own use.

During the year 1856, several expeditions were made with the first lot of camels, and the reports made by the several officers in charge, showed that they were satisfactory in every respect, and were superior to the horse and mule trains, with which they were tried out.

Lieutenant Porter, reporting from Smyrna, Nov. 14, 1856, states:—

We shall sail tomorrow for the United States. . . . Mr. Heap has purchased a beautiful lot of animals, all young. . . . Six of the camels have been presented by the Sultan, through our Minister at Constantinople. . . . We shall sail with forty-four camels in all. . . . I think our present home voyage will be about the same as last, and if the steamer will be ready on the 20th of January, I hope by that time to get to the mouth of the Mississippi.

Owing to storms, head winds and bad weather, Porter did not arrive at his destination until January 30, and on February 10, 1857, forty-one camels were landed at Indianola in good condition, three having died on the voyage.

In all seventy-five camels and dromedaries, reached the United States in safety, enough to make the experiment. They were tried out in different ways, and on different expeditions in the Southwest, and every officer who was connected with these expeditions reported very favorably on their use.

The following news item dated Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 23, 1857, and appearing in the Portland, Ore., *Oregonian*, Dec. 26, 1857, gives an idea of the general opinion of the different officers, who had come in contact with the Camel Corps:—

'The camels are coming;' and the camels have come.

On the 9th inst., just as the express wagon wheeled out of one end of town with the Los Angeles budgets for San Francisco, two tall forerunners of the "Dromedary Line," ridden by Lieut. Beale and companion, came trotting in with a speedy and somewhat altitudinous motion, at the other end with their Atlantic budgets. Their approach made quite a stir among the native population, most of whom had never seen the like, and by the time the docile creatures were kneeling at the door of the hotel for their masters to dismount, the caravan was perfectly surrounded and obscured. After a days stoppage they took up their burdens and set out with their "long measure" trot for Fort Tejon, where I believe the remainder of the train, twenty-five in number will bring up. This mode of traversing the great plains and mountains will succeed. One of the company informed me that these animals would climb a mountain with a load on its back, where a mule could not get up without a load; even getting down on their knees to make the ascent of the steepest places. They thrive on grease-wood, eat the cactus without burning off the prickles, and live well where our domestic animals would die.

While a great majority of the Army officers, who had come in contact with the camels were very much in favor of their being retained in the service, the "mule-skinners" of the Army did not share their opinion, and abused the animals in many ways.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the camel stations in Texas passed into the hands of the Confederates, from whom they received scant attention. The writer has found only one record showing that they were made use of by them. A paragraph taken from the Portland, Ore., *Oregonian* of Nov. 20, 1865, reads as follows:—

A correspondent asked the other day, what had become of the camels the U. S. had in Texas before the war. We have come upon traces of one of these animals which seems to have joined the rebels. The *Memphis Argus* says:— The first effort to introduce the camel into this country was in process of successful experiment when the war came and put a stop to it. One of the camels originally imported for the purpose fell into the hands of one of

Sterling Price's Captains of infantry, commanding a company from Noxubee County, (Miss.), who used it all through the war to carry his own and the whole company's baggage. Many a time on the march he might have been seen swinging easily along under a little mountain of carpet sacks, cooking utensils, blankets etc., amounting in all to at least 1200 lbs.—*New York Post*.

Many were allowed to escape from the different camps, and they wandered over the plains and desert places of the Southwest. There are numerous recorded instances where soldiers or hunters have seen or pursued them; these instances occurring with decreasing frequency as late as 1893. In 1901 wild camels were seen in the deserts of Arizona, and Sonora, Mexico.

One band of three wandered up into Arkansas, during the Civil War, where they were captured by Union forces, and sent to a point on the Des Moines River in Iowa, where they were later ordered to be sold at public auction.

On Sept. 9, 1863, the last of the herd in California, thirty-five in number, were ordered sold at public auction, and were purchased by Samuel McLaughlin, in whose care they had been for some time. It is probable that most of the animals found their way into menageries and zoological gardens.

At the close of the Civil War, the camels remaining at Camp Verde, Texas, numbered forty-four, and in March 1866, were ordered sold at auction. The bids were opened at New Orleans, and were respectively \$5.00, \$10.00, and \$31.00 each. They were sold to Col. Bethel Coopwood at \$31.00 each, and delivered to him at San Antonio, Texas, and he kept them in that vicinity until the end of the year, when they were driven into Mexico.

In January, 1867, twelve of them were sold to a circus, and the remainder appear to have been, during the next fifteen years, disposed of in the same manner.

As late as 1903, the *San Antonio Express* speaks of having observed in one of the midway shows which had exhibited in that city, a camel which carried the U. S. brand.

Of the seventy-five camels imported by the War Department nothing but the skeleton of one of them remains in the possession of the government. This animal was killed by one of its mates at Fort Tejon, California, and its skeleton reposes in the National Museum at Washington, D. C.

UNCLE SAM'S CAMEL CORPS

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THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO

(Continued)

Chapter VII

The Destruction of Acoma

Exploration Renewed; the Buffalo Plains. The results of Oñate's preliminary exploration of New Mexico had netted small returns in comparison with the expectations of his gold-thirsty soldiers. But only a small region had been seen and preparations were soon renewed for more extended investigations. In the middle of September, 1598,⁴⁰⁴ he sent the *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar with a company of about sixty men to visit the region of the "cattle herds." Many rumors had been heard of these ever since the time when Cabeza de Vaca crossed the plains of Texas on his way to Culiacán.⁴⁰⁵ When this force reached Pecos Father San Miguel and the lay brother Juan de Dios, whom they had been escorting, remained to take up their duties among the natives.⁴⁰⁶

A few leagues beyond the Pecos the Spaniards met four native vaqueros who were won over by presents of food and other gifts. They supplied Zaldívar with a guide to the buffalo plains, which they reached early in October. They were on the Canadian river, near the eastern border of New Mexico.⁴⁰⁷

404. September 15. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 223. The "Ytinerario" gives the date as September 16; see entry of that date.

405. These herds of cattle were of course the buffalo. Cabeza De Vaca has given us the first description of the American bison. See Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 1513-1561, 200, or Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 34.

406. Juan de Dios knew the language of the Pecos. He had learned it from Don Pedro Orez, a native, whom Castaño had probably taken to Mexico. "Ytinerario," July 25, 1598.

407. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 225, and 226 note 1.

The Attempt to Corral the Buffalo. The Spaniards were anxious to capture some of the sluggish looking cattle and very soon set to work to build a corral for that purpose.⁴⁰⁸ When finished the wings of the enclosure were so long that it was estimated it would hold 10,000 buffalo. They felt certain of being able to capture the beasts, for these ran in a very peculiar manner, as though fettered, explained the chronicler. With the big corral completed the Spaniards sallied forth to round up the animals. A large herd was soon spied and here is what happened in the words of the chronicler.

The cattle started very nicely towards the corral, but soon they turned back in a stampede towards the men, and, rushing through them in a mass, it was impossible to stop them. . . . For several days they tried a thousand ways of shutting them in or of surrounding them, but in no manner was it possible to do so. This was not due to fear, for they are remarkably savage and ferocious, so much so that they killed three of our horses and badly wounded forty.⁴⁰⁹

Zaldívar and his companions still refused to acknowledge defeat. If the full grown buffalo could not be captured they would be satisfied with taking the calves. The effort was made and some were captured, "but they became so enraged that out of the many which were being brought, some dragged by ropes and others upon the horses, not one got a league toward the camp, for they all died within about an hour." Balked in their attempt to capture the buffalo alive they finally contented themselves with killing some and taking a quantity of meat and suet back to the camp. They returned on November 8, 1598, a distance of seventy leagues, after having been gone nearly two months.⁴¹⁰

408. It was made of poplar trees. The work was begun on October 9, 1598, and took three days.

409. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 228; cf. Villagrà *Historia*, I, 93.

410. "Ytinerario," November 8, 1598; Discovery of the buffalo in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 228-230.

Oñate Visits the Salines. Meantime Oñate remained at San Juan long enough to supervise the preliminary work of establishing the town. After the church was finished and the missionaries had assumed their duty of Christianizing and civilizing the natives, he prepared to resume the exploration of the country in person.⁴¹¹ Accordingly he left San Juan on October 6. The first place visited was the region of the saline pueblos, or Gallinas, twenty-seven leagues from San Juan, by the route followed via Santa Cruz, San Marcos and Tuerto.⁴¹² Here he remained three days to visit the salines situated about five or six leagues to the east. These were very large, about seven or eight leagues in circumference, according to the governor's estimate, and of very good quality. From there he went to the Abó and the three Xumana pueblos. All rendered obedience to the king of Spain.⁴¹³

The Visit to Ácoma and Zuñi. Oñate now determined to go to the sea. Thus he began retracing his steps, going by way of Abó and Gallinas. He reached Puaray where Father Claros was posted, on October 21, where he stopped two days. Then he continued west on October 23,⁴¹⁴ and approached Ácoma, which he reported to contain five hundred houses. It is a huge white rock, towering three hundred and fifty-seven feet toward the sky with the pueblo on top. Oñate realized it was almost impregnable, for the path to the top consisted of small holes hewn in the very rock.⁴¹⁵ If the Spaniards were astonished at the sight of the towering city the Ácomas were no less impressed with the spectacle of the armored horses, which were put through a few special capers for their benefit. The governor was respectfully received. The natives provided food and water and rendered obedience to the king. But there was treach-

411. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 215

412. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in *ibid.*, 233.

413. *Ibid.*, 234; "Ytinerario," October 6, 1598.

414. The "Ytinerario" states that Oñate left Puaray on October 23, and from another source, Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration* 233-234, we learn the exact route followed.

415. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 10.

ery afoot. When Oñate climbed to the top of the rock with a part of his men he was soon invited to see something remarkable guarded in an *estufa*. Unknown to him it contained twelve armed traitors. Peering into the dark chamber he declined with thanks, suggesting it was first necessary for him to arrange some matters below.⁴¹⁶

After a day's rest at the rock of Ácoma the next objective of Oñate and his men was Zuñi. On the way a severe snowstorm was encountered at Agua de la Peña. The horses stampeded and some were not recovered. On November 1 the first inhabited Zuñi pueblo was reached. They had passed the ruins of three on the way. Again the Indians met them with a liberal supply of food. They did the same at the next pueblo, Cíbola, where each house added a blanket to the other things given them.⁴¹⁷ Oñate found here the descendants of some Mexican Indians left by Coronado nearly sixty years before. All of these pueblos rendered obedience to his majesty with equally meaningless motions.⁴¹⁸

Oñate's little force remained at Cíbola from November 3 to 8, 1598. Meanwhile four of the men, led by Captain Farfán, were sent to investigate the rumor of a saline said to be about nine leagues to the west. Only three days were consumed in this visit, when the soldiers returned with the report that it was the best salt spring in the world.⁴¹⁹

Villagrà's Escapade near Ácoma. In this same interval three soldiers had been sent out to round up the horses scattered during the snow storm at Agua de la Peña. Instead of finding the horses, they got a more valuable prize, Captain Villagrà. He was found about half dead, without horse or arms, and without having tasted food for several days.⁴²⁰ He was returning from New Spain and

416. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 99-100. This plot was not learned of till much later.

417. The pueblo of Hawikuh; Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 235.

418. *Ibid.*

419. *Ibid.* See also Account of the discovery of the salines of Zuñi, Bolton, *Ms.*, and Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 102.

420. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 236.

had stopped at Puaray where he heard that Oñate had departed from there the day previously. So he immediately set out in pursuit, expecting to overtake him shortly. When he reached Ácoma the actions of the Indians aroused his suspicions. Chief Zutacapan, a bitter opponent of the Spaniards, asked him to dismount, but he feigned haste with as cheerful a smile as he could muster, and quickly withdrew to a safe distance. Evening was approaching when this occurred and Villagr  hastened forward. Having gone some distance he lay down to rest, but arose in the middle of the night and continued the journey. It was snowing and bitterly cold. He did not go very far, for like a flash of lightning his progress was stopped. Horse and man had unsuspectingly plunged into a deep pit, carefully concealed in the road. It was the work of Zutacapan and his allies. The fall killed the horse. To save himself Villagr  set out on foot, without armor or weapons and with his boots on backward to confuse pursuers. For several days he groped about amid great suffering till he was at length rescued by Oñate's soldiers.⁴²¹

Oñate Visits Moqui. When these scouting parties had rejoined the camp on November 8, Oñate set out to visit the Moqui pueblos.⁴²² Everywhere he was received as a friend, and all rendered the required obedience. Meantime the Spaniards had heard rumors of rich mines in the vicinity. To test these reports the governor delegated Farf n with eight companions.⁴²³ They left November 17. While they were engaged in that exploration Oñate led the rest of his men back to Zu i and there awaited the return of Farf n's

421. *Ibid.* Villagr , *Historia*, I, 103-104. The "Ytinerario" states that it was Captain M rquez who set out from Puaray after Oñate, and that it was he who fell into the trap. This is clearly an error, for it calls him procurator-general. We know that Villagr  held this office. "Nombramiento de Procurador General del campo y Ejercito del Nuevo Mexico   favor del Captain Gaspar P rez de Villagr ." *Ibid.*, II, 14-15. The same document in manuscript form is found in A. G. I., 58-6-36.

422. There were five pueblos in Oñate's time. Awatobi, Walpi, Shongopovi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 560-561.

423. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 236-237. Villagr  names all but two of the Spaniards in the party. Besides Farf n and Quesada he mentions Don Juan Escarramad, Antonio Conde, Marcos Garc a Damiero, and Hern n Mart n, *Historia*, I, 102.

party. This occurred on December 11, but only Farfán and Quesada came. They had left their seven companions in Moqui because the horses were worn out.⁴²⁴

Farfán's Expedition into Arizona. Farfán's expedition in search of mining prospects probably visited some point in Yavapai county, Arizona. Travelling westward through a desert and treeless area it came upon a northward flowing river, the Little Colorado, after having gone about nine leagues. The stream was of moderate width and carried considerable water. Its banks were lined with cottonwoods, but there was little pasture.

From there on identification of the route becomes more difficult. A march of three leagues brought the party to the slope of a mountain range; two leagues more to a grove of small pines and a very deep pool; and then the explorers proceeded for two leagues along the snow covered mountain range. Here they found several rancherías of Jumana Indians. Now they travelled along this mountain range for six leagues. The snow was knee deep. The region abounded in large pine trees. At the end of this trip they came to a snow-free valley, and after going another two leagues, approached the "Ranchería de los Cruzados."⁴²⁵ The Indians had powdered ores of different colors. Continuing on their way three leagues they passed through a land of pine groves, "with the finest of pastures, many cattle, very good prickly pears, and many and large maguey patches, where they saw Castilian partridges, a great many deer, hares, and rabbits." Here was another ranchería on the bank of a river of "fair width and much water." They now proceeded four leagues to another and larger river "which flowed almost from the north." Cross-

424. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 237. Oñate says they returned twenty-one days later, which would be December 8, but Farfán's testimony was given on the day of his return, December 11. Discovery of mines, in *ibid.*, 239-249.

425. Bandelier identified the "Cruzados" with the Yavapai. *Final Report*, I, 109. At the end of the nineteenth century they occupied the Rio Verde valley, but in earlier times went much farther west, over to the Colorado river, according to Hodge. *Handbook*, II, 994.

ing this stream they came to a much larger river two leagues distant which also came from the north. This stream they crossed and a league beyond reached the mines where the Indians got their ore. Numerous claims were staked out, and then the party returned and joined Oñate at Zuñi as mentioned.⁴²⁶

Juan de Zaldívar at Ácoma. Before setting out on this trip to Zuñi and Moqui Oñate had given orders that the *maestre de campo* Juan de Zaldívar, should reinforce him with thirty men in order to make the contemplated journey to the South Sea. Since he failed to come by the time of Farfán's return from Arizona, December 11, it was decided to go back to San Juan to celebrate Christmas. After the holiday season Oñate might then visit the sea with as large a force as was required. The return from Zuñi began December 12, the seven men at Moqui remaining there for the time being. The next day the governor was met by Captain Bernabé de las Casas with six companions at Agua de la Peña, the scene of former events in this narrative. He had come to warn Oñate and to report that the *maestre de campo* and twelve companions had been attacked and killed at Ácoma on their way to join him.⁴²⁷

The ill-fated Juan de Zaldívar did not depart from the camp at San Juan till November 18, 1598, ten days after his brother Vicente had returned from the buffalo hunt.⁴²⁸ On the way he stopped at Ácoma in order to procure a sup-

426. Discovery of mines, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 239-249. The "Ytinerario" gives some details not mentioned in the above document. Professor Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (1916) locates the mines visited by Farfán on the Big Sandy or the Spenser. They were, he thinks, in either the Aquarius or Hualpai ranges. In his *Spanish Borderlands* (1921) he places them "in the region of Prescott." This is more nearly in accord with Bancroft's view, though he located them farther north, in the vicinity of Bill Williams Mountain.

427. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 237-238; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in *ibid.*, 215; "Ytinerario," December 4 and 7, 1598.

428. *Proceso que se hizo contra los yndios del pueblo de Ácoma por aver muerto alebosamente á don Juan de Zaldívar Oñate maese de campo general y á dos capitanes y ocho soldados y dos mozos y otros delitos*, February 15, 1599. Cited hereafter as *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*. It is found in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

ply of blankets and provisions for the journey to the sea.⁴²⁹ Meanwhile a significant change had taken place at the White Rock since last visited by the Spaniards. One party led by the belligerent Zutacapan was determined not to give the white men any more supplies. His son Zutancalpo and the aged Chumpo were bent on keeping the peace. Many angry speeches were made on both sides, which did not end till the two pacifists deserted the pueblo with their followers, leaving Zutacapan to wreak his vengeance on the Europeans.⁴³⁰

When Zaldívar arrived on December 1, there was nothing to indicate the treachery contemplated by the Ácomas. Food was needed by the visitors, and they promised the natives hatchets and other tools in exchange for what they desired. But no sign of compliance appeared, and thus Captain Márquez was sent up to the pueblo with six soldiers. He secured some food, but not enough to satisfy the needs of the Spaniards. The Indians claimed that no corn was ground and that if they returned in the morning more would be available. Accordingly the Spaniards went into camp about two leagues from the pueblo near an arroyo where water and wood could be obtained. Returning on December 4, Zaldívar visited the pueblo with eighteen men. In their search for provisions they were led from place to place by the Indians, but very little flour was collected. By that time it was getting late and Captain Diego Nuñez de Chaves and six men were detailed to follow the Indians elsewhere. The Spaniards were thus divided. Moreover they were in a very narrow place near the cliffs, according to the survivors. It was at that moment that the Ácomas, realizing the opportune moment for attack had come,

429. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 112, 116.

430. *Ibid.*, 113-116. Villagrà gives many of the speeches of these Indian chiefs. Perhaps they are the fruit of the poet's imagination, or he may have learned of the arguments from the Indians after the battle, as Bancroft suggests.

raised a great cry and fell furiously on the foe. The battle was on.⁴³¹

In the course of this struggle numerous feats of heroism were performed on both sides and Villagr  fairly revels in recounting these bloody tales.⁴³² In the end the Spaniards were defeated with heavy loss. Zald var fell at the hand of Zutacapan after a terrific struggle, if we may credit our poet. The situation of the others was soon desperate. But rather than be hacked to bits by the Indians they leaped off the cliff onto the rocks below. Seven did so and survived. We have their testimony taken under oath a few weeks later at San Juan.⁴³³

The catastrophe at  coma was a severe blow to the small Spanish force in New Mexico. Eleven soldiers and two servants had been killed. Three of the dead were officers: Juan de Zald var *maestre de campo*, Diego Nu ez de Chaves and Felipe de Escalante, captains. The others included the ensign Marcos Pereyra, Lu s de Arauxo, Juan Camacho, Mart n Ramirez, Juan de Segura, Pedro Robledo, Mart n de Riveros, Sebastian Rodr guez, a mulatto and an

431. *Proceso contra los yndios de  coma*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. Some accounts state that the Spaniards tried to take supplies by force. Such is the testimony of Herrera Orta and Juan de Ortega, in *Copia de una informaci n que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 16, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15. Herrera Orta testified that Father Escalona secretly called him to his cell and there gave him this information. Captain Velasco wrote that the fight commenced when the Indians refused to provide any blankets on the pretext that they had none. *Carta de Don Lu s de Velasco   S. M.*, March 22, 1601. The treasurer Alonso S nchez says that in this second visit to procure food the Spaniards took some turkeys, whereupon a few of the natives, concealed on a height, killed a soldier named Bibero. *Carta escrita por Alonso S nchez   Rodrigo de R o de Losa*, February 28, 1599, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. This story is also told in the *Proceso*. Bibero is not given in the list of the dead in the "Ytinerario," but the name Riveros is found. They are doubtless identical, though in my list of O ate's colonists compiled from the Salazar inspection no such name appears. See appendix A.

432. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 119-123.

433. *Proceso contra los yndios de  coma*. Those who jumped and lived to tell the story were: Gaspar L pez de Tabora, Juan Olague, Juan de Le n, Juan Velasquez de Cabanillas, Alonso Gonzalez, a half-breed, Antonio de Sari ana, and Francisco Robledo. His brother Pedro was killed in making the leap. Villagr  says that five jumped, four of these landing safely. *Historia*, 124-125.

Indian.⁴³⁴ The survivors immediately planned to warn their comrades of the rebellion, and the next day they sent the alguacil Tabora with three men to inform the governor. These, however, lost their way and soon returned. Then the ensign Bernabé de las Casas was dispatched on December 6, accompanied by six soldiers. As we have seen he was successful. Oñate was then on his way to Ácoma, and they met one another about thirty miles west thereof on December 13, 1598.⁴³⁵

Though stricken by this sad news the governor did not neglect to provide for the future. The interpreter Thomas was sent back with a warning for the seven soldiers who had remained at Moqui to avoid Ácoma and proceed directly to the capital. Captains Farfán and Quesada were sent on ahead to San Juan, while Oñate and the soldiers followed, arriving in seven days, December 21. As they approached the camp a small group, including Oñate's young son Don Cristóbal came out to meet them. The missionaries gave thanks to God with a *te deum* for their safe arrival.⁴³⁶

For Oñate this stroke of misfortune was doubly grievous. Not only was Juan de Zaldívar his nephew and intimate friend, but the loss of so many men with rebellion rife in the province meant a complete change of plans. Instead of being able to develop the mining prospects just discovered in Arizona or of making further explorations toward the South Sea, he had to concentrate his diminished forces to prosecute an unwished-for war.⁴³⁷ Villagrá gives eloquent descriptions of the grief cast over the en-

434. "Ytinerario," December 4, 1598; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 218; Oñate to Villagrá, January 11, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36. Some of the names of the murdered men do not appear in the list of Oñate's colonists as given in the Salazar inspection documents. There is no Marcos Pereyra or Martín de Riveros. There is an Hernando de Segura, but no Juan. There appears to be no mistake in their names, and if that is true then they must have gone to New Mexico after the Salazar inspection.

435. "Ytinerario," December 5 and 7, 1598; Villagrá *Historia*, I, 125-126; Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 238.

436. *Ibid.* Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 129-130; "Ytinerario," December 21, 1598.

437. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 216.

tire colony, how Oñate, Vicente de Zaldívar and the widows of the soldiers mourned their loss.⁴³⁸

What Constitutes a Just War. Without any loss of time Oñate now took steps to punish Ácoma. Court martial proceedings were instituted against the rebellious pueblo, under Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, appointed alcalde for that purpose. Before pronouncing sentence the governor asked the religious to give an opinion as to what constituted a just cause for making war; and, granted that the war was justified, what disposition the conqueror might make of the victims and their possessions.⁴³⁹

The reply of the missionaries left sufficient leeway for a war against Ácoma. The aggressor must have the sanction of a power which recognized no superior temporal authority. The immediate cause might be one of four: defending the innocent, restoring goods unjustly seized, punishing culprits who violated the laws, or the preservation of the peace, "which is the principal end for which war is ordained." The second query presented by Oñate was answered just as broadly. The conquered would be at the mercy of the conqueror. If the war was waged to defend the innocent, restore property or punish trespassers, the proper restitution should be made. But if the cause of the conflict was to preserve the peace all obstructions hindering its attainment might be destroyed. After peace had been gained, however, the war was no longer justified and must cease.⁴⁴⁰

The Expedition against Acoma. Judging by this criterion there was ample cause for war and Oñate proclaimed that it be carried on by fire and sword. His nephew and *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, brother of the

438. Villagrà *Historia*, I, 125-128.

439. "Caso que puso el Governador, para que sobre el, diessen su parecer los Padres Religiosos." Given in full in Villagrà, I, 131.

440. "Respuesta del Comissario, y Religiosos." Given in full in Villagrà, I, 131-132, and in the *Proceso*. "Y finalmente si la causa de la guerra es, la paz universal, o de su Reyno, y Republica, puede muy mas justamente hazer la sobredicha guerra, y destruir todos los incombientes, que estorvaren la sobredicha paz, hasta conseguirla con efecto, . . ."

slain *maestre de campo*, was appointed lieutenant-governor and commander of the seventy men sent to avenge the dead.⁴⁴¹ With him went a council of war consisting of Alonso Sánchez, Zubia, Aguilar, Farfán, Márquez and Villagrà. Father Martinez also accompanied the expedition. The poet notes that mass was said and all the soldiers confessed before going into battle.⁴⁴²

The governor's instructions to Zaldívar ordered the punishment of those responsible for the slaying of the eleven Spaniards in the recent uprising. Full opportunity, however, should be given the Ácomas to atone for their disobedience before the ordeal of arms was resorted to. The guilty were to be surrendered, the bodies and arms of the dead returned, the sky pueblo given up, and a new home built on the plain, where only the missionaries should be allowed to come. Thus read the ultimatum of the Spaniards. If it should be spurned by the haughty foe then no mercy was to be shown. The punishment of Ácoma was to be a horrible example of what disobedience to the new master meant.⁴⁴³

It was not till January 12, 1599, that the *sargento mayor* set out for Ácoma at the head of his soldiers. Captain Villagrà was sent by way of Sia to secure provisions sufficient for a fortnight. When the Ácomas saw the small force approach on January 21, they set up a derisive howl.⁴⁴⁴ Surely the Spaniards were crazy to think of conquering the White Rock with such a mere handful of men. Already the Indians, men and women, could be seen dancing their defiant war dances. As the army came nearer arrows and insults rained down from the rock, but Zaldívar bore it all in silence. Calling the interpreter Thomas to his side he

441. "Ytinerario," January 12, 1599. The treasurer Sánchez says Zaldívar was accompanied by seventy-two soldiers. *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Rio de Losa*, February 28, 1599.

442. *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 134, 156; "Ytinerario," January 21, 1599.

443. Zaldívar's instructions are given in full in the *Proceso*; cf. Villagrà, I, 133-134.

444. *Ibid.*, I, 141; "Ytinerario," January 12 and 21, 1599.

required the Ácomas to come down from their pueblo and account for the murders they had committed. Defiant boasts were the only answer to his summons. The natives had already gone so far that they could not retreat.⁴⁴⁵

The Plan of Attack. The towering pile on which the pueblo of Ácoma was built consisted of two parts. Villagrà says the two portions of the mass were about three hundred steps apart, but that they were connected by a dangerous and narrow path of precipitous cliffs.⁴⁴⁶ This situation did not escape the attention of the *sargento mayor* as he laid his plan of attack. A stratagem was planned. With the main part of the army he proposed to attack the pueblo in force on the side of the main approach. It was thus hoped to concentrate the enemy's strength at that place, and other points of the summit would be left undefended. Meanwhile twelve chosen men led by Zaldívar, unobserved by the enemy, would be posted in a concealed spot at another point at the base of the cliff with orders to seize the top when the opportunity offered. Zaldívar's council of war concurred in these plans, and then the Spanish camp rested in preparation for the morrow's struggle. The Ácomas, on the contrary, spent the night in wild revelry.⁴⁴⁷

The Attack. The evidence introduced in the *Proceso*

445. *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 141-142. The poet records that chief Zutacapan wanted to send away the women and children, but this counsel was not taken. And he devotes a whole canto to the efforts of Gicombo, a chief who had been absent when Zaldívar was slain, to give up the war. His rival Zutacapan, however, was able to completely discomfit the pacifists. *Ibid.*, 135-139.

446. "Y assi marchando en orden nos llegamos,
Al poderoso fuerte, el qual constaua,
De dos grandes peñoles leuantados,
Mas de trecientos passos deuididos,
Los terribles assientos no domados,
Y estaua un passaman del uno al otro,
De riscos tan soberuios que ygualauan,
Con las disformes cumbres nunca vistas." *Ibid.*, 141.

Bancroft doubted the identity of the present pueblo of Ácoma with that existing in Oñate's time, but his view has not been accepted by others. See his *Arizona and New Mexico*, 125 note 24.

447. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 145-149; see also the *Proceso*.

shows that the Indians began the attack by killing two horses while they were being watered. It was evident to all that the Ácomas were not only irreconcilable but determined to fight. From that time on there was no hesitation in the Spanish program. On the afternoon of January 22, their plans had all been formulated and the feigned attack was made about three o'clock.⁴⁴⁸ When the natives saw what appeared to be the entire Spanish force attacking at one point the warriors rushed to meet the onslaught. At once Zaldívar and his squad of eleven scaled the deserted side of the peñol and gained a foothold on the summit near the houses of the pueblo. Here they were halted, however, before it was possible to gain the main portion of the rock, but they were able to hold the point the rest of that afternoon and during the night. To watch the crag till morning a guard was posted and placed in charge of Captain Pablo de Aguilar and others.⁴⁴⁹

The point they held was separated from the rock on which the Indians were fighting by two deep gorges. That night a beam was prepared to be used in bridging these spaces, and the next morning it was carried to the top. But the natives had also been active. They were now led by chief Gicombo who had a surprise in store for the Spaniards. Nor far from the two gorges he had stationed a great many warriors entirely hidden from view. When Zaldívar's men should attempt to cross the narrow passageway the concealed fighters would emerge from the ambushcade and overcome the foe.⁴⁵⁰

448. According to the "Ytinerario" and the *Proceso* it was on Friday, January 22. Alonso Sánchez reported that it occurred on Thursday afternoon the 21. *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Río de Losa*, February 28, 1599. Bancroft thought that an error had crept into the "Ytinerario" and that the battle began on Friday morning. There seems to be no reason for accepting this change. See *Arizona and New Mexico*, 144, 145 note 24.

449. *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*; "Ytinerario," January 21, 1599; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 149-150. The names of the twelve are recorded by Villagrà. Vicente de Zaldívar, León de Isasti, Marcos Cortés, Lorenzo de Munuera, Antonio Hernández, Juan Velarde, Cristóbal Sánchez, Cristóbal López, Hernán Martín, Francisco Hernández Cordero, Pablo de Aguilar, and Villagrà.

450. Villagrà is our sole authority for this story. *Historia*, I. 152.

Villagr 's Leap. Meantime the soldiers ascended the cliff after the father-commissary had administered the sacrament. As they scanned the pueblo it appeared to be deserted, and without further consideration thirteen men crossed the two gorges in the passageway by means of the beam and occupied the other side. Swarming from their place of concealment the natives suddenly attacked the small group. The men were in a serious predicament. It was impossible to succor them since they had the beam. At that point Villagr , if we may believe the story, undertook to rescue the others from their peril. Throwing aside his shield he prepared to jump across the first abyss, though his friends feared he would be dashed to bits. But he succeeded. Then he placed the plank over the gorge and others were able to reinforce the few who were so sorely pressed.⁴⁵¹

The Destruction of  coma. Throughout the second day of the battle the  comas were forced back step by step with terrific slaughter. This was partly due to the fact that Zald var succeeded in getting two pieces of artillery up the rock and bringing these into action.⁴⁵² At four o'clock in the afternoon the Spaniards ceased fighting in order to give the natives an opportunity to surrender. But they were resolute, and the bloodshed was renewed and continued for another hour or so, and then the  comas sued for peace.⁴⁵³ Fate was obviously against them, for they saw an apparition of Saint James or Saint Paul riding a white horse and using a terrible sword fighting for the Christians.⁴⁵⁴

The number of casualties in the  coma camp seems to have been between six and eight hundred.⁴⁵⁵ About seventy or eighty warriors were captured, in addition to about

451. *Ibid.*, 156-157.

452. "Ytinerario," January 23, 1599.

453. *Proceso contra los yndios de  coma.*

454. "Ytinerario," January 23, 1599; Villagr , *Historia*, I, 178; *Carta escrita por Alonso S nchez   Rodrigo de Rio de Losa*, February 28, 1599.

455. Captain Velasco gives the dead as 600, while Alonso S nchez says that 800 were killed. *Ibid.*, and *Carta de Don Lu s de Velasco   S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

five hundred women and children.⁴⁵⁶ The Spanish force seems to have suffered very little. "It was miraculous that so great a number of the enemy were killed without the loss of any of ours," says the "Ytinerario." When evening came Ácoma was ready to surrender, but Zaldívar waited till the following morning before taking possession of the pueblo.⁴⁵⁷

Villagr  informs us that at the end of the day's fighting Zutacapan asked for Zald var's terms of peace. But the latter still insisted on the surrender of those responsible for the death of the Spaniards, of whom Zutacapan was the leader, and the terms were refused.⁴⁵⁸ Quite another story is told by Captain D n Lu s de Velasco, one of O ate's critics. He says that the Indians surrendered after the war had lasted some time, and that they then gave corn, blankets and turkeys as had been demanded by the Spaniards they had slain. But the *sargento mayor* would not accept their offering, and confined many of the natives in the *estufas* as prisoners. From there they were taken out one by one, murdered, and thrown over the edge of the rock, a negro and some soldiers acting as the butchering squad.⁴⁵⁹ These events took place on the third day of hostilities, January 24.⁴⁶⁰

This is practically the story as given in the *Proceso*. From it we learn that Zald var would not now accept the gifts of the natives, for he had come to punish those guilty of killing the Spaniards. Accordingly he seized some of the  comas and confined them in the *estufas* where they fortified themselves and defied the conqueror once more!

456. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*.

457. *Ibid.* "Ytinerario," January 24, 1599; Villagr  devotes the last four cantos of his poem to the final stages of the battle. It is a gory legend in which we learn of the death of many of the prominent  coma chieftains. *Historia*, I, 159-181.

458. *Ibid.*, 161-162.

459. *Carta de Don Lu s de Velasco   S. M.*, March 22, 1601; testimony of Herrera Orta in *Copia de una informaci n que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 16, 1601.

460. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*; "Ytinerario," January 24, 1599. Some of the sources limit the battle to two days, but this evidently does not include the killing and burning which took place on the 24th.

But the god of war was not thus to be deprived of his spoils. When the Spaniards saw what had happened they set fire to the pueblo, as Oñate had authorized. The victims tried to escape through the underground passages, but were not able to get away.⁴⁶¹ Some killed one another rather than fall into the hands of the enemy;⁴⁶² others surrendered, or were destroyed by fire or by the sword. The pueblo of Ácoma was completely laid waste and burned. As already indicated about five or six hundred remained to be carried into captivity.⁴⁶³

Punishment of the Ácomas. The captives taken at Ácoma were brought to trial at the pueblo of Santo Domingo early in February, 1599, where Governor Oñate heard the evidence presented for and against them. They were accused of killing eleven Spaniards and two servants and of failure to submit peacefully when Vicente de Zaldívar came to punish them. Some of the natives who appeared to testify at the trial pleaded absence from the pueblo at the time the murders were committed. They were away tilling the fields. Others cast the blame on the Spaniards for starting the trouble. As for their resistance to Vicente de Zaldívar, they had by that time agreed to oppose the Spaniards.⁴⁶⁴

Sentence was pronounced on February 12, 1599. Oñate ordered that all males over twenty-five years of age be condemned to have one foot cut off and to give twenty years of personal service. The men between twelve and twenty-five years escaped with twenty years of service.

461. *Ibid.*, and *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*.

462. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

463. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 177; *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*. The statements we have of the population of Ácoma in 1598 are probably exaggerated. Oñate put it at 3000. See his letter to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 218. Captain Velasco says over 600 were killed and 600 more taken captive. Sánchez says 800 were killed, 500 women and children captured and 80 punished. See Velasco's letter to the king, March 22, 1601, and that of Sánchez to Rodrigo del Río, February 28, 1599. Either of these totals are more reliable than the figures Oñate and others sent to Spain. They exaggerated the numbers in order to convince the king of the importance of the province. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 324-5; and Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 135-136.

464. *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*.

All the women above twelve years of age were likewise doomed to twenty years of servitude. Two Moqui natives captured at Ácoma were condemned to lose the right hand and to be sent home as a warning to others. The boys and girls below twelve years escaped punishment, but they were to be subject to the Spaniards, the girls being made the special charges of Father Martinez and the boys of Vicente de Zaldívar. The sentence was executed as decreed.⁴⁶⁵ "Fue gran lastima," says the indignant Captain Velasco.

With the infliction of this spectacular and exemplary punishment the province of New Mexico was cowed into obedience. No other revolt of equal significance occurred till the pueblo revolt of 1680. The natives were beginning to feel the weight of the hand of their new master.

Chapter VIII

Reinforcements, and the Expedition to Quivira

Oñate Reports to the Viceroy. Shortly after the Ácoma revolt had been quelled Oñate gave an interesting if exaggerated report on New Mexico, dated March 2, 1599. In glowing terms he painted the wonders of the land, emphasizing particularly the richness of certain unexplored regions regarding which reports had been received from the natives. So remarkable was this new possession that "none other held by his Majesty in these Indies excels it," and the governor claimed to be judging solely by what he had seen and learned from reliable reports. The vast settlements in the west, in Arizona, and the certainty of finding great wealth in pearls in the South Sea, were described. He told of a great pueblo in the buffalo country nine leagues in length and two in width which had been visited

465. *Ibid.* Captain Velasco states that twenty-four were mutilated by having a foot cut off. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601

by an Indian in his camp. This native, Jusepe, had been with Humaña's fatal party, but managed to escape and make his way back to New Mexico where he regaled Oñate with wonderful accounts of the country to the east.⁴⁶⁶

His Request for Aid. In order to explore and conquer these new regions Oñate needed more soldiers. That was his most pressing need. He appealed to the viceroy, sending several agents to represent him in Mexico. Father Martínez, "the most meritorious person with whom I have had any dealings," was sent to tell of the opportunity for saving souls and to secure more friars for that purpose. He was accompanied by Father Salazar, Oñate's cousin, who, however, died on the way.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps Father Vergara accompanied them.⁴⁶⁸ To tell of the wealth of the province in material things, there were delegated among others Villagrà, captain and procurator-general of the expedition, Farfán captain of the guard, and Juan Pinero, also captain.⁴⁶⁹ Villagrà was put in command of the party and authorized to enlist troops. On reaching New Spain he would be subordinate to Juan Guerra de Resa, whom Oñate had named lieutenant-governor and captain-general for this second expedition. Before attempting to enlist troops, Villagrà was instructed to secure the viceroy's sanction,⁴⁷⁰ in accordance with the modification which had been made in the contract.⁴⁷¹

Of especial interest, in view of later developments, is a document drawn up in the capital two days after Oñate had written his letter of March 2. It was a vote of con-

466. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 212-222. See also *Relación que dió un indio de la salida que hicieron Umaña y Leyba del Nuevo Mexico*, MS in Bolton collection.

467. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 673.

468. *Ibid.*, I, 672. Torquemada is the only source which includes his name. Two contemporary documents fail to make any mention of him. They are, Alonso Sánchez to Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, February 28, 1599; and Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, *op. cit.*, 221-222.

469. *Ibid.*

470. Order of Don Juan de Oñate, Santo Domingo, March 16, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

471. Monterey had stipulated that if reinforcements were needed by Oñate, special permission must be sought from the viceroy. See chapter II of this study.

fidence in the governor by the captains and soldiers of the army as well as an appeal for aid. Nineteen officials signed the paper. Besides vouching for Oñate "as one of the most faithful and useful servants of the many your majesty has" and comparing him with the Duke of Alva and the Marquis of the Valley⁴⁷² among others, they suggested that the king ought to know of their own noble sacrifices. Their fortunes had been spent, their lives had frequently been endangered in the royal service, and their wives and children had shared these adventures.⁴⁷³

News from Oñate Reaches Mexico. It required a long time before these reports on New Mexico reached the viceroy or the king. On June 8, 1599, the Count of Monterey reported that news from Oñate was still lacking.⁴⁷⁴ Immediately after this was written, however, word did come, for three days later Santiago del Riego wrote that good news had been received,⁴⁷⁵ and soon the viceroy dispatched a like account inclosing Oñate's letters.⁴⁷⁶

Monterey's reports on Oñate's success in New Mexico were all complimentary at this time. He went so far as to defend him from the responsibility for the cruel punishment of the Ácoma Indians by pointing out that Oñate was not present. That episode was considered of such importance in Mexico that the audiencia took the matter under advisement. But it decided to drop the subject in

472. Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico.

473. *Carta de los oficiales mayores y menores del ejército real del Nuevo Mexico*, March 4, 1599, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. Among the papers sent to Mexico at this time was a brief optimistic note to the viceroy, asking for half a dozen royal brands for marking the silver from New Mexico. *Copia de carta de Don Juan de Oñate al Conde de Monterey*, March 5, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

474. *Monterey á S. M.*, June 8, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13. Cf. *Santiago del Riego á S. M.*, June 9, 1599, A. G. I., 58-5-12. Reigo had always been interested in the expedition and was not pleased with Oñate's failure to keep his friends informed of his success in New Mexico.

475. *Santiago del Riego á S. M.*, June 11, 1599, A. G. I. 1-1-3/22.

476. *El Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, June 22, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13. The viceroy stated that he was not forwarding all of Oñate's reports then as they were too voluminous for copies to be made before the sailing of the fleet. What they dealt with is not indicated.

order not to discourage the whole New Mexico enterprise which appeared so full of promise at that moment.⁴⁷⁷

When the Council of the Indies finally received a full account of these early experiences of the army in New Mexico approximately a year had elapsed, a good example of how difficult it was to administer a province so far away. The Council read the reports with much gratification and informed the king that the conquest had begun favorably.⁴⁷⁸ Monterey was accordingly instructed to encourage Oñate and to assist him as his discovery seemed to be important.⁴⁷⁹

Monterey Orders Reinforcements. Meanwhile the representatives Oñate sent to Mexico won some measure of success. They indicated that the province was a rich possession, and that smoothed their way. The viceroy granted them permission to recruit reinforcements.⁴⁸⁰ This was, in fact, necessary either to maintain the little settlement at San Juan or to extend the territory already conquered.⁴⁸¹ Monterey commissioned a number of captains for this purpose, each of whom was authorized to enlist a following. Villagr  was one of these, and by September, 1599, was busy enlisting men.⁴⁸²

The fact that additional soldiers were going to New Mexico required an official inspection. For this reason Monterey, on October 1, 1599, appointed Captain Juan de Gordejuela to inspect the reinforcements at Santa B rbara. He was to make a report before a notary of all who went on the expedition and of everything taken along.⁴⁸³ As commissary of this relief force the viceroy selected

477. *Monterey   S. M.*, October 4, 1599, A. G. I., 53-3-13.

478. *El Consejo de Indias*, April 8, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

479. This was May 31, 1600. See "Discurso y Proposici n," in *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 38.

480. Before August 20, 1599. *El Conde de Monterey*, August 20, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

481. *Santiago del Riego   S. M.*, September 28, 1599, A. G. I., 53-3-12.

482. *El Conde de Monterey*, August 20, 1599; certification of the notary, September 27, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

483. *El Conde de Monterey*, October 1, 1599, in *Muestra cata y cata que tomaron Juan de Gordejuela y Juan de Sotelo de la gente, armas y municiones que llev  Juan de O ate   las minas de San Bartolom *, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter referred to as *Gordejuela visita*.

Captain Juan de Sotelo y Cisneros, who had served the king in a military capacity in many countries. He was to follow the troops to Santa Bárbara in order to make arrangements for securing supplies for men and beasts while on the journey. It was his duty, moreover, to see that no offenses against the Indians were committed. If such did occur he had full power to mete out the punishment required. At Santa Bárbara he was to assist Captain Gordejuela in carrying out the inspection.⁴⁸⁴

Immediate Succor Sent North. The captains who were enlisting troops in the fall of 1599, found that their work progressed slowly. At the same time the viceroy seemed anxious that their departure should take place by November, 1599, though he also noted that they might await further news from Oñate. That is probably what happened, for the assembly at Santa Bárbara of all those who were expected did not take place till August, 1600.⁴⁸⁵ The missionaries were chosen in March of the same year, and probably departed about the same time.⁴⁸⁶ Juan Guerra, however, did not reach Santa Bárbara till the early part of August.⁴⁸⁷

At that time a part of the soldiers had already been sent to New Mexico. The reason for this was that an Indian, called Lorenzo, had fled from Oñate's camp and reached San Bartolomé, where notice of his arrival came to the attention of Captain Gordejuela. Lorenzo told of the great need among Oñate's followers for food and cattle and how anxiously they were awaiting relief.⁴⁸⁸ In view of the delay in the assembly of the soldiers Gordejuela determined to send a small party forward at once. Seven men were chosen to make up this advance group, a man

484. *El Conde de Monterey*, December 30, 1599, in *ibid.*

485. *Monterey á S. M.*, October 4, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

486. Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo, San Gabriel*, September 7, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

487. Order of Sotelo y Gordejuela, August 22, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

488. Certification of Juan de Gordejuela, September 5, in *ibid.*

named Robledo acting as leader.⁴⁸⁹ All of them had been enlisted by Juan Guerra. He furnished the food-supplies, horses, arms, powder, and other things which they brought. Their departure took place on June 2, 1600. Father Fray Alonso de la Oliva accompanied them as he was very anxious to reach New Mexico.⁴⁹⁰

Aid Furnished by Juan Guerra. The reinforcements thus being assembled at Santa Bárbara were practically all provided at the expense of Juan Guerra de Resa. The Salazar inspection had shown that Oñate was far short of his obligations in some respects. Those deficiencies had to be made up, and Juan Guerra had agreed to foot the bill whenever the viceroy ordered the reinforcements sent.⁴⁹¹ Nearly every article now provided, aside from the personal possessions of the soldiers, was thus paid for by the rich lieutenant-governor.⁴⁹² It cost him over one hundred thousand pesos, if we may believe Luís Nuñez Pérez, and Don Cristóbal de Oñate something less than that.⁴⁹³

When the required number of soldiers at length reached Santa Bárbara and the necessary cattle and supplies had been purchased the inspection was soon arranged. Juan Guerra requested the inspectors to make a separate inventory of the things supplied by him and to place an account of it at the head of their report.⁴⁹⁴ To this no objections were raised and the request was complied with.⁴⁹⁵

The Inspection. The inspection began on August 23 when Juan Guerra presented a detailed list of the things he had furnished.⁴⁹⁶ Carts, oxen, powder, artillery, muskets, blankets, various kinds of cloth including both Dutch and Rouen linen, shoes of many varieties, wine, and innumer-

489. Robledo's companions were: Juan Hurtado, Simón García, Alvaro García, Juan Gregorio, Pedro Pérez, and Juan Fernández.

490. Petition of Juan Guerra de Resa, September 5, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

491. See chapter V of this study.

492. The entire record of the inspection reveals this fact. See also the certification of thirteen captains and soldiers, September 1, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

493. *Traslado de un capitulo de carta de Luís Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600.

494. Petition of Juan Guerra de Resa, August 22, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

495. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 22, 1600, in *ibid.*

496. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 23, 1600, in *ibid.*

able other items all duly attested, made up his portion of the succor being sent to Oñate.⁴⁹⁷ The inspection of these things occupied two days. Then on the 25th it was decreed that other captains and soldiers must present themselves with their goods on that or the following day. The order was publicly proclaimed.⁴⁹⁸ Captain Bernabé de las Casas was the first to observe the order. The others followed. Altogether there were eleven captains in the force, though they were not all leaders of companies. Bernabé de las Casas, Villagrá, and Ortega appear to have had such commands. Eight bore the rank of ensign, and five were sergeants. The soldiers numbered forty-eight, making a total of seventy-three in the entire expedition.⁴⁹⁹ It should, however, be remembered that seven men with Father Oliva had preceded the main force to New Mexico by three months.⁵⁰⁰

Finally everything seemed ready for the march and the commissaries decreed that the departure for New Mexico should take place August 30. But it was evidently impossible for all to be ready at the stated time, and on September 2 the order was repeated, requiring all to leave that same day. Guerra, nevertheless, asked for a little more time and presented another list of materials to be taken to New Mexico, and it was accepted. On September 4, two soldiers straggled into Santa Bárbara, too late for the inspection. They were, however, allowed to join the army. On that same day the inspectors ordered every captain and soldier to depart at once under severe penalties, and on the next day the last soldiers left the city.⁵⁰¹

497. *Memoria de las cosas, armas, vinos, ropa de toda suerte y conservas y otras cosas que Juan Guerra de Resa embia al socorro y provincias de la Nueva Mexico*, August 23 and 24, 1600, in *ibid.*

498. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 25, 1600, in *ibid.*

499. At the final review which was held on August 28-30, 1600, there were only seventy-one men, including Juan Guerra. This is the number given in the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento." See *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 198. However, two men arrived on September 4, and they were allowed to enroll with the others, thus bringing the number up to seventy-three.

500. See above.

501. Transactions of August 29 to September 5, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

The lists were closed, and the San Bartolomé valley was left to relapse into its former humdrum existence.

Oñate's Activity in the Interim. On Christmas eve, 1600, the relief expedition reached Oñate's camp at San Gabriel, where it was received with great rejoicing. The new band of Franciscans, of which Father Fray Juan de Escalona was apostolic-commissary, accompanied it.⁵⁰² The names of these missionaries have not been preserved.

Two years had now passed since the death of Juan de Zaldívar and his companions at Ácoma. What had the governor done in the long interval? As we have seen, Villagrà had soon been sent to Mexico for reinforcements. Without these it was impossible to undertake any extensive exploration or conquest due to the weakness of his force. But aside from that we know very little of what transpired in those long months of waiting. It is reported, for instance, by two Indians who fled from New Mexico June 29, 1600, that the governor and all the people were *muy buena*, and that the natives were peaceful, many of whom had already accepted Christianity. They also related how on St. John's day⁵⁰³ a celebration was held in honor of a great discovery of mines.⁵⁰⁴ This story is substantiated by two other sources which state that silver veins had been discovered at San Marcos and elsewhere.⁵⁰⁵ This indicates that Oñate was not entirely idle, but major operations, on the whole, had to be postponed.

Zaldívar's Expedition Toward the South Sea 1599. Nevertheless one extensive expedition toward the South Sea

502. Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*; and *Relación verdadera sacada de las cartas, testimonios y recaudas que Don Juan de Oñate . . . envia con carta de veinte y dos de marzo desde año de mil seiscientos uno á sus hermanos y deudos*. MS in Bolton collection.

503. May 6.

504. *Traslado de un capitulo de carta de Luis Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

505. Testimony of Brondate and Herrera Orta, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*. San Marcos was six leagues from San Gabriel, according to these witnesses. It was near Callaite. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 93.

was attempted before the coming of the relief force. No diary or other full account of such an exploration has yet been found, but we have other testimony which indicates something of what happened. Ever since Farfán's expedition into the present Arizona in December, 1598, reports of the sea were current in New Mexico. About the middle of the following year⁵⁰⁶ Vicente de Zaldívar was sent with a party of twenty-five or thirty men to verify these rumors. On the way he passed near the province of the Jumanos,⁵⁰⁷ where he tried to secure some provisions. But instead of giving food the natives brought him stones. Such impudence could not go unpunished, and preparations were made to correct it.

With a force of fifty men Oñate went to the Jumano country, both to demand tribute and to punish those who had failed to respond to Zaldívar's request. When he asked for *mantas*, about a dozen were provided. The Jumanos claimed no more could be spared. Then Oñate proceeded to punish the disobedient. A part of the pueblo was burned "so tactfully and gently . . . that the fire would cause no unnecessary damage beyond that which was intended," half a dozen natives were killed by a volley from the muskets, and two of the most belligerent Jumanos were hanged. On top of this it was discovered that the interpreter was not rendering a faithful account of what was told him so he also was hanged.⁵⁰⁸ With this chastisement the Jumanos were allowed to escape on that occasion.

Meanwhile Zaldívar passed on toward the South Sea.

506. *Relación verdadera*; Luis Nuñez Pérez in a letter to the king reported that Zaldívar had gone to explore the South Sea. *Traslado de un capitulo de carta de Luis Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600.

507. Expeditions going westward by way of Ácoma and Zuñi from San Juan went south to Isleta to go through the pass. Vetancourt, *Crónica*, IV, 99. Moreover we know that in Oñate's time there were some Jumano villages near the salines, east of the Rio Grande. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 636. It must have been here that provisions were sought by Zaldívar and Oñate.

508. Such is the story as gleaned from the *Relación verdadera*, and the testimony of Herrera Orta, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*. Captain Velasco also tells of a pueblo which refused to give supplies. He says that Oñate killed the Indian who gave the answer of refusal and then burned part of the village. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

For about three months the party wandered on in a futile attempt to reach the coast, going one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues in their wanderings. Numerous Indian settlements were visited, but there were no pueblos, nothing but rancherías. Like Espejo he found some Indians who had crosses and who used them like Catholics.⁵⁰⁹ But he finally had to return because of the mountainous country and hostile Indians at a point only three days' march from the sea, according to the information gathered.⁵¹⁰

After this unsuccessful expedition no further attempts were made in that direction for some years. Not enough men could be spared for the march. After the coming of the reinforcements, however, Oñate prepared to carry it out. The plans were made, men, munitions, and carts outfitted, and the start set for April, 1601.⁵¹¹ For some reason which is not known Oñate changed his mind after having held an assembly of the entire army, and went east instead. Perhaps Jusepe's glowing accounts of the country to the east seemed to offer better prospects than the discovery of the South Sea, which Zaldívar had already attempted.

Foraging Excursions. While Oñate thus had big plans which, if successful, would have swept away all petty opposition, it was also necessary to care for the daily needs of starving colonists. If enormous wealth should be discovered some oppression of the Indians would naturally be overlooked, but failing in that, severe criticism was certain to be heaped upon him, and that is practically what happened. In the early days of the conquest food was obtained when the frightened Indians fled from their pue-

509. *Relación verdadera*; testimony of Captain Espinosa, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*; cf. the account of Espejo's expedition in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 187.

510. *Relación verdadera*; see also "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," ed. by Bolton, in *Catholic Historical Review*, V, 21; and "Breve Relación," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 49, 60.

511. *Relación verdadera*.

blos, giving the Spaniards a free chance to take all the maize desired.⁵¹² Getting provisions in that way became more and more difficult, however, because of the hostility aroused. Soon the hidalgos had to raise wheat and other products, which they did, but clearly only in small quantities, as starvation seemed to be ever a near visitor. To keep the wolf away from the door periodic foraging excursions were therefore undertaken, compelling the Indians to furnish maize and other food which they had stored up for their own use. The clamor and opposition of the natives on such occasions was extremely violent,⁵¹³ but even the missionaries admitted that it was necessary. The Indians might be dying of starvation, but the Spaniards had to live.⁵¹⁴

Murder of Aguilar and Sosa. As sustained prospecting failed to disclose riches in New Mexico the discontent of the soldiers and colonists steadily increased. Poverty, starvation, and rags, without compensation of any kind, shook their confidence in the province and in their leader, and the number of those who wanted to go back grew proportionally. This was fatal to Oñate's hopes and could not be tolerated for a moment. For that reason dissatisfaction rose with every new act of repression. Immediately after the colonists reached New Mexico outbreaks had occurred among them. On one of these occasions Villagr   headed a party which captured and hanged two deserters.⁵¹⁵ Equally severe penalties were inflicted on some others, as when Captain Pablo de Aguilar was dastardly killed, and

512. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco    S. M.*, March 22, 1601; "Itinerario," in *Col. Doc. In  d.*, XVI. 250, 252.

513. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco    S. M.*, March 22, 1601. It is stated that by the early part of 1601 the Spaniards had secured as tribute two thousand *mantas* and five hundred tanned buckskins. As to the quantity of maize and beans received the amounts differ, one placing it at five or six thousand and another at two thousand *fanegas*. (The *fanega* measures one and six tenths bushels). Testimony of Brondate and Espinosa, in *Copia de un informaci  n que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*.

514. Testimony of Fray Francisco de San Miguel, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

515. See chapter VI of this study.

at Oñate's instigation according to Captain Velasco. The reasons for this brutal deed are obscure,⁵¹⁶ but such action, coupled with the disappointment over the sterility of the land, made the governor an unpopular man.

A similar thing happened when Captain Alonso de Sosa Albornoze asked leave to return to New Spain with his family. He was already ruined in fortune, he stated, and was now unable to support his family. Seemingly his request was granted.⁵¹⁷ Then an order was issued by the governor requiring all captains and soldiers to round up the horses at a certain time. Captain Sosa accompanied the others, but was attacked and killed by a squad of soldiers headed by Zaldívar, and his body covered so that it should not be found. This group of men had been concealed in a ravine about two leagues from San Gabriel. It was drastic action on the part of the governor if the story is true, but it probably accomplished the purpose intended, as no further requests for going to New Spain were heard. However it left the capital apprehensive and suspicious. As Captain Velasco says all were downcast and went about expecting death at any moment. The colonists could not comprehend how the desire to return to Mexico in order

516. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601, Oñate had experienced difficulty with Captain Aguilar several times. It was he who entered the first pueblos against express orders. He was one of the forty-five who planned to desert just after the establishment of the capital. On both occasions he had been saved by the entreaties of the colony. There is no explanation of what he had done to warrant the attack described by Velasco, but he was apparently an insubordinate character who had to be put out of the way. Velasco's story of his death is as follows. One day the governor sent for Aguilar, greeted him cheerfully, and asked him to enter a certain room, where he had already posted a negro and an Indian armed with butcher knives, and other servants armed with short swords. On entering the place "and in the presence of myself and many others who were there they seized his arms. The said governor gave him a push, causing him to stumble, and there they stabbed him. The governor himself ran a sword through his body, although the poor man cried out, saying he was married and asking confession as he was a sinner."

517. Oñate promised Sosa that within eight days he would be given permission to return with all his relatives. In that interval an *auto* was issued that he should be prepared to leave whenever it was ordered. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. Though Velasco is our only authority for these events, there is clearly some foundation for them as Oñate was convicted of these charges. *Testimonio de las sentencias*, 1614, A. G. I., 58-3-17.

to register their complaints with the viceroy could be called treason and punishable by death.⁵¹⁸

It seems thus that Oñate was becoming willful and headstrong. Perhaps that was necessary to control his turbulent followers. For example, when the auditor-general, the licentiate Gines de Herrera Orta, who had come with the relief expedition in 1600,⁵¹⁹ arrived in San Gabriel, he was not allowed to exercise the duties of his office. Nor was this all. It was said that Oñate permitted his nephew to call him "majesty" in the presence of the religious and others. "If some of these things could only come to the attention of the viceroy of New Spain," wrote Velasco, "he would be moved by compassion and grief to redeem our oppression." Velasco sent that letter secretly and at great personal danger,⁵²⁰ and though it bore no immediate result it was of significance in Oñate's trial.

The Expedition to Quivira. The settlement at San Gabriel was thus teeming with discontent long before the expedition to the east was undertaken. But though Oñate probably realized the dissatisfaction among his settlers he went on with the preparations to visit Quivira, hoping that there would be found the wealth which New Mexico had thus far failed to produce. Reports of a great province to the east had been given by the Indians, and particularly by Jusepe, the Indian who had been with Humaña. Oñate was determined to investigate.

Between seventy and a hundred men⁵²¹ and a large baggage train made up the expedition which began its

518. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

519. *El licenciado Gines de Herrera Orta*, September 3, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*. He soon returned to New Spain.

520. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. The letter was sent when Oñate and Father Martínez sent Joseph de Coronda and Fray Luis Maironos to Mexico with reports.

521. The "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," says seventy. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 251; the "Breve Relación" eighty. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 198; the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento" one hundred. *Ibid.*, XVI. 221; while ninety-four is the figure given in *Información y papeles que envió la gente que allá quedó haciendo cargos á la que así venía*. San Gabriel, October 2, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

long journey on June 23, 1601. Gathering his men at Galisteo four days later Oñate led them eastward through the Galisteo Pass to the Pecos.⁵²² They continued in an easterly direction to the Magdalena river, the Canadian, "which was reached just below the sharp turn to the east." The country was described as pleasant and fruitful. Following the river for some distance a rough region was passed before they approached the plains again. From that time on the country was level and greater progress was made. Although it was the region frequented by the Apaches no trouble of any kind was experienced. The other hardships incident to the journey were alleviated by fish from the river and by fruit from the plum trees and grapes vines growing along its banks. In the early days of August the first buffalo were spied and some killed. But about that time the fertile valley of the Canadian gave place to sand dunes. Then the expedition turned toward the north, just east of the Antelope Hills.⁵²³

The route followed now led northward to Beaver Creek and the Cimmaron river, which were followed for a time. Soon a huge ranchería was found, said to contain over five thousand inhabitants. The houses of these Indians were merely tents made from buffalo hides, and their villages temporary structures. They were roving Indians who followed the buffalo which furnished them with both food and clothing. They told the Spaniards of another nation eight leagues away. With these they were at war, so they accompanied Oñate who would vanquish their enemies. But their action was no doubt partly due to the fact that Humaña had been killed in the vicinity and they wished to throw the responsibility on their foes.⁵²⁴

Acting as guides they now led the expedition to a large eastward flowing river, apparently the Arkansas, where

522. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," *op. cit.*, 251-252. Professor Bolton has carefully identified Oñate's route toward the east, and his conclusions are followed in this summary.

523. *Ibid.*, 254-255.

524. *Ibid.*, 256-257.

they quickly built their ranchería anew, much to the astonishment of the visitors. There they were content to remain while Oñate proceeded to visit their foes.⁵²⁵ The following day about four leagues distant the Spaniards saw other natives, some hostile and some friendly. Precautions were taken against a surprise attack during the night, but it passed without incident. In the morning, however, the hostile tribe was awaiting a chance to attack, boasting that they had murdered Humaña's party and burned them all. In order to avoid a conflict Oñate tried to capture their chief and succeeded in doing so.⁵²⁶ Continuing forward a short distance another settlement, said to contain 1,200 houses, was discovered. The "houses" were covered with dry grass on the outside and within contained elevated platforms which were used as beds.⁵²⁷ The settlement was deserted, and the Indians accompanying Oñate wanted to pillage and burn it. This he prevented, however, and ordered them back to their ranchería.⁵²⁸

In order to learn something of the country in which he was sojourning and what lay beyond the governor questioned the captive chief closely. The information was not at all pleasing. Numerous settlements, it would appear, existed both toward the north and east, but the prisoner advised the Spaniards not to go forward. The Indians who had withdrawn from the Spanish camp were assembling their friends, according to the captive, and would soon be so numerous that it would be possible to wipe out the small foreign force. In spite of such information Oñate continued a few leagues more, and then decided to return after his men had presented a petition summarizing the reasons

525. *Ibid.*, 258.

526. *Ibid.*, 259-260. According to Zárate-Salmerón, as Bolton points out, the Indians rescued him in a feint attack, carrying him away irons and all. *Spanish Exploration*, 260 note 1.

527. The description fits the Wichita grass lodges; see "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," in *Ibid.*, 260 and note 4; and Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 949.

528. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," *op. cit.*, 260 261 note 1.

why that should be done. As the report of the journey read, "that his Majesty . . . right issue the orders necessary to the royal service and to the acceleration of the salvation of these souls." From New Mexico the soldiers had now traveled two hundred and twenty leagues and reached the vicinity of Wichita, Kansas.⁵²⁹

On the return journey Oñate learned that the Quiviras, the first settlement found in that region, were prepared for war, and though he attempted to avoid a clash the Indians were evidently determined not to let him escape. In the course of the battle which followed most of the Spaniards were wounded, and finally a retreat was ordered. The soldiers were compelled to give up all the prisoners taken with one exception. One man, Miguel, was retained in order that a link might be established to communicate with his nation in case of future expeditions into that country. Without further mishap the force then set out for San Gabriel, reaching it on November 24, 1601, after an absence of exactly five months.⁵³⁰

529. *Ibid.*, 262-263, 260 note 2.

530. *Ibid.*, 264-265.

THE SIX CITIES OF CIBOLA—1581-1680

F. W. Hodge

In his excellent paper on the Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, which appears in the July issue of the *Review*, Mr. Mecham answers many questions respecting the habitat of the Pueblo Indians in the Rio Grande and tributary valleys at the time of the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition in 1581-1582. There are, however, a few points with which the student must contend in regard to the Zuñi villages of that period. It is the aim of this brief paper to shed light on them.

As is well known, only two of the pueblos composing the "Seven Cities of Cíbola" of Coronado's time are mentioned by name. These are (1) Ahacus, of which Fray Marcos de Niza learned from his Piman Indian guides and which with every good reason is identified with Hawikuh, called Granada by Coronado in honor of the Viceroy Mendoza; and (2) Matsaki, recorded as Maçaque by Castañeda, who mentions it as the largest of all the towns of Cíbola, its houses reaching a height of seven stories. The evidence of the identity of Ahacus, Hawikuh, and Granada is incontrovertible. We need mention here only the fact that it could have been the one Cíbola-Zuñi pueblo that was first seen and reached by the explorers in ascending the Zuñi river.

Mr. Mecham has shown that Chamuscado proceeded westward from the Rio Grande to Zuñi by way of Ácoma, Bandelier's statement to the contrary notwithstanding; and it may be assumed that the party pursued the route (only from the opposite direction) followed by Coronado's advance guard and his main force via El Morro or Inscription Rock, and Ojo del Pescado, one of the headwaters of the

Rio Zuñi, rather than by the difficult trail over the malpais which Alvarado took on his journey from Hawikuh to Acoma, which led him south of El Morro. There is no more truth, however, that "Chamuscado and seven soldiers inscribed their names" on Inscription Rock than there is that the Zuñi localize a native tradition that Estevanico, the so-called "Black Mexican," was murdered at Kiakima rather than at Hawikuh.¹ There is no question that the earliest inscription on El Morro is that of Oñate, whose name was carved in the rock, at which was the "Agua de la Peña," on his return from the Gulf of California in the spring of 1605. Absence of names at El Morro, of course, is only negative testimony that explorers did not follow that route in journeying between Acoma and Zuñi; yet it was and still is the most practicable line of travel, for its physiographic features offered little resistance to the explorers, while the immediate vicinity of the great rock afforded all the necessities of a temporary camp—water, forage, and abundant fuel.

Leaving the discussion of the earlier "Seven Cities of Cíbola" for another occasion, it has long been known that after the time of Coronado and until shortly before the Revolt of 1680, if not up to the very time of the uprising, the Zuñi inhabited only six villages. The native names and sites of all these are now well known, yet some of them have been the cause of almost as much confusion as any subject of Pueblo history by reason of the difficulty of harmonizing the array of recorded names, or rather the variations in the orthography of the names, with those by which the settlements were known to the native inhabitants. We will therefore endeavor to unravel the snarl by correlating the jumbled terminology of the six Zuñi villages occupied in the latter half of the sixteenth century, as made available to us by the Spanish chroniclers. The attempts to identify the seventh pueblo of the early Spanish period

1. See Hodge, The First Discovered City of Cíbola, *American Anthropologist*, vol. VIII, no. 2, Washington, 1895.

have been based on little more than conjecture, since sufficient archaeological research has not yet been conducted in the Zuñi valley; therefore, if a seventh "city" really existed, we are as far from its true determination as in the day of Bandelier and Cushing.

1 — HAWIKUH

This pueblo, the largest of all, according to most of the Spanish narrators, was twelve miles southwest of the present Zuñi, on the point of a low mesa that projects southward into the valley. The topography accords with the "rounded height" on which stood the only pueblo of Cíbola which Fray Marcos de Niza says he viewed in 1539 from an elevation to the southward. It was this "City of Cíbola" of Fray Marcos of which Coronado and his companions complained so bitterly in the following year, the commander asserting that the entire group of pueblos was called "the kingdom of Cevola, and each has its own name and no single one is called Cevola, but all together are called Cevola. This one which I have called a city," he says, "I have named Granada, partly because it has some similarity to it, as well as out of regard for Your Lordship."² It contained two hundred houses with five hundred families.

The Gallegos report records Hawikuh as "Allico."³ From the narration of Espejo we gain little information on the subject aside from the fact that he gives the name Aquico (which in pronunciation closely approximates Hawikuh) and affords positive proof of the identity of Cíbola and Zuñi. For the first time Espejo presented

2. Coronado to Mendoza, in Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, p. 558, Washington, 1896.

3. Mr. Mecham (p. 286) gives the names of only five of the six pueblos discovered by Chamuscado, as recorded by Gallegos, followed by the number of inhabitants of each of the six, consequently (with the exception of Hawikuh) one cannot correlate Gallegos' villages with his population figures. This may be due to one of the typographical blunders with which Mr. Mecham's paper unfortunately is replete. The missing pueblo is Kwakina - the Quaquina of Luxán and the Coaqueria of Oñate.

the name by which the Zuñi are known to the Keres and which has clung to this day. Luxán is more explicit, for, like Gallegos, he notes the names of the six inhabited villages, among which is "aguico".⁴

Before proceeding to later sources we must endeavor to untangle the knots found in the work of Baltasar de Obregón, which is accessible to me only in its printed form.⁵ In a marginal note (p. 19) and in the text (p. 293) of this work the pueblos of Cibola are recorded, but so confused are their names that we list them in order to show the difficulties with which students have been obliged to contend in endeavoring to harmonize the vagaries in orthography, due largely to typographical errors. In the first Obregón list we find "Macaque, Macilona Quequina, Acin [or Quequinaacin], Cocana", and, in the second, "Masaque, Caquema, Alona, Quequina, Acincocana." The intended application of these names must be determined at this point, because Hawikuh is involved with the rest, and nothing short of the dissection which follows seems so well to serve the purpose.

4. Both Mr. Mecham (p. 286) and Dr. Bolton (*Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, p. 184, New York, 1916) give "Agrisco," with what justification I do not know, as the Luxán manuscript, of which the present writer has a photostat copy, records "aguico" very plainly both in the text and in a marginal note.

5. *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España escrita por el conqvisador Baltasar de Obregon año de 1584, Mexico, 1924.*

6. Evidently the scribe who noted the names of the towns on the margin of the manuscript (p. 19 of the published work) became confused in his attempt to record the first two names, with the result that the equivalent of Kiakima appears to be missing from the first list. As a matter of fact, however, *caque* of "Macaque" and *ma* of "Macilona" should have been combined to form "Caquema," but as this leaves Matsaki pueblo represented by *Ma* alone, we assume that the error was one of omission by reason of the identity in the spelling of the latter part of *Macaque* and the first part of *Caquema*. Incidentally it may be said that in the second, less garbled, list, the pueblos occur in the exact order in which they would have been visited by a party coming from the east (i. e. from Acoma), while Luxán gives the same order except that Aguico (Hawikuh) is placed before Alona (Halona) instead of after Cuaquina (Kwakina). If we may assume that "Coaguima" (Kwakina) was unintentionally omitted from Gallegos' list as given by Mr. Mecham, and that it should have appeared between Aconagua (Halona) and Allico (Hawikuh), then the order of the pueblos is identical with that of Obregón, except that Matsaki and Kiakima, the two pueblos at the base of Tawayalane, are reversed. Evidently stationed at Hawikuh, the principal pueblo, when he recorded the village names, Oñate listed them in exactly the reverse order to that given by Gallegos, save that the Oñate list naturally names Hawikuh first.

<i>Matsaki</i>	<i>Kiakima</i>	<i>Kwakina</i>	<i>Hawikuh</i>	<i>Kyanawa</i>	<i>Halona</i>
Macaque	[see note 6]	Quequina	Acin,Co	canaMa	cilona
Masaque	Caquema	Quequina	Acinco	cana	Alona

The Oñate scribes, or more likely the copyists or the printers of the documents referring to the colonization in 1598, are among those who garbled Pueblo names practically beyond recognition. Hawikuh becomes Aguicobi and Aguscobi, but in these particular forms the name of the pueblo is not difficult to recognize, the suffix *bi* probably being intended to represent the Zuñi locative *wa* or *wan*, as in Oñate's "Canabi" for Kyanawa.

Gallegos reported "Allico" as having one hundred and eighteen houses in 1581, and Oñate one hundred and ten houses in 1598, a considerable reduction from the two hundred noted by Coronado nearly half a century earlier, although Hawikuh now had the distinction of being the chief Zuñi town. At the time of its abandonment it was mentioned by Vetancurt "*con otros pueblos pequeños donde había mas de mil personas.*"

The mission of Concepción was established at Hawikuh in 1629 during the custodianship of Fray Estevan de Perea.⁷ The evidence respecting the date of the abandonment of the pueblo is not conclusive, for, although it was raided by the Apache about 1670 and abandoned, it seems not to have been forsaken permanently until the Revolt of 1680 resulted in the flight of the Zuñi tribesmen to Tawayālanē, or Corn Mountain, where they remained until Vargas appeared on the scene in 1692.

The following synonymy includes only names derived from the earlier original sources. There are hundreds of variations in orthography, many of them due to typographical errors, with which we need not cumber the lists.

Ceuola (city and province). - Fray Marcos de Niza, *Relation* (1539), in *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza*

7. See Hodge in *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, 1630, Ayer trans., Chicago, 1916; Hodge, *Bibliography of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, III, no. 1. New York, 1919.

de Vaca, Translated from his own Narrative by Fanny Bandelier, New York, 1905, p. 211 et seq.

Ceula. - Ibid., p. 217.

Ceulo. - Ibid., p. 214.

Ahacus. - Ibid. p. 219.

Granada. - Coronado (1540) in Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, Washington, 1896, p. 558.

Cibola. - Castañeda (1540-96), *ibid.*, *passim*.

Sivola. - *Relación Postrera de Sivola* (ca. 1542) in Winship, *ibid.*, p. 566.

Allico. - Gallegos (1582) quoted by Mecham, *op. cit.*, p. 286. (An evident miscopying or misprinting of Auico.)

Aquico. - Espejo (1583) in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XV, p. 133, 1871. (Probably a misprint of Aguico.)

Aguico. - Luxán (1582) *Entrada que hizo en el Nuevo Mejico Anton de Espejo en el año de [15]82*, folio 83, MS. in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.

Agrisco. - Luxán (1582) as cited by Bolton, *op. cit.*, and by Mecham, *op. cit.* (The letters *ris* are an obvious miscopying of *ui*.)

Acinco. - Obregón (1584), *Historia*, p. 293. (Erroneously combined with Cana [see Kechipauan], thus forming "Acincocana.")

Acin,Cocana. - Ibid., p. 19. (Erroneous separation of *Acin*, for *Acui*, from *co* (*Acuico*), and fusion of *co* with *Cana*, i. e., *Kechipauan*.)

Aguicobi. - Oñate (1598) in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, 133, 1871.

Aguscobi. - Oñate (1598), *ibid.*, 132.

Cuni. - Oñate, *Account of the Discovery of the Mines* (1599), in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 239, 1916.

Havico. - Zárate Salmerón, *Relación* (ca. 1629), in *Land of Sunshine*, p. 44, Dec. 1899. (Refers to the Oñate expedition.)

Zibola. - Perea, *Verdadera Relación*, Madrid, 1632, p. 4.

La Concepcion de Aguico. - Vetancurt (1697), *Crónica*, 320, repr. 1871.

Tzibola. - Mota-Padilla (1742), *Hist. Nueva España*, 111, ed. 1871. (From documents of the Coronado period.)

2 — MATSAKI

The importance of Matsaki was set forth by Castañeda, who described it, in the form Maçaque, as "the best, largest, and finest village of that [Cíbola] province" and "the only one that has houses with seven stories."⁸ The area of the ruins, however, in comparison with that of Hawikuh, does not support Castañeda's assertion. As before mentioned, aside from the "Ahacus" (Hawikuh) of Fray Marcos, Matsaki was the only Zuñi pueblo mentioned by name before Chamuscado's time. It was situated about three miles east-southeast of present Zuñi, a short distance from the northwestern talus slope of the great mesa of Tâwayălaně, or Corn mountain, popularly but improperly called "Thunder mountain" from Cushing's misinterpretation.

Maçaque. - Castañeda (1540-1596), op. cit. ("Muzaque" in the narrative translated by Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*, IX, 163, 1838.)

Maca. - Gallegos (1582) quoted by Mecham, op. cit., p. 286.

Mazaque. - Luxán *Entrada* (1582), op. cit., f. 83.

Malaque. - Luxán as quoted by Bolton, op. cit., p. 184.

Maleque. - Luxán as quoted by Mecham, op. cit., p. 286.

Masaque. - Obregón (1584), *Historia*, p. 293.

Macaque. - Ibid., p. 19.

Macaqui. - Oñate (1598) in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, 133, 1871.

Mazaquia. - Vetancurt (1697), *Crónica*, 320, repr. 1871.

3 — KIAKIMA

This pueblo, about four miles southeast of Zuñi, was at the southwestern base of Corn mountain, which towers

8. Castañeda, in Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, op. cit., pp. 493, 517.

nine hundred feet, for which reason the great mesa was called the Peñol de Caquima by Vargas in 1692.

Aquima. - Gallegos (1582) cited by Mecham, op. cit., p. 286. (The name appears as "Aquiman" on Mecham's map.)

Quaquema. - Luxán, *Entrada* (1582), op. cit., f. 83.

Cuaquema. - Ibid.

Caquema. - Obregón (1584), *Historia*, p. 293.

MACAQUE, *MACILONA*. - Ibid., p. 19. (An erroneous fusion of names in which *Caquema* is hidden. See note 6.)

Aquinsa. - Oñate (1598) in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, op. cit. (Cf. *Aquima* of Gallegos above, and note the frequent difficulty in transcribing initial C of unfamiliar proper names, of which the printed "Amé" for the *Cuni* of Espejo is an instance. In "*Aquinsa*," *ns* is no doubt a misprint of *m*.)

Caquima. - Sigüenza y Góngora, *Mercurio Volante*, 1693, repr. Mexico, 1900, p. 17 ("...*Peñol no menos inexpugnable de Caquima*"); Vetancurt (1697), *Crónica*, 320, repr. 1871.

Caquimay. - Doc. of 1635 quoted by Bandelier in *Papers Archaeol. Inst. Amer.*, V, 165, 1890.

Every student of the subject has been confused by "*Aquinsa*," which seems to be no more than the result of mistranscribing a name which both Gallegos and Oñate doubtless wrote *Caquima*. I am convinced that the identification of Oñate's *Aquinsa* is thus determined, and that his *Coaqueria* was not *Kiakima*, but *Kwakina*.*

9. Dr. A. L. Kroeber has suggested (*Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, XVIII, pt. III, p. 273, New York, 1917) "that the 'Aquinsa' of Oñate's list is the native name 'Akinnsa' or 'Appkinnsa' (*awa*, rocks; *kinnsa*, black) for Black Rock or Rocks" where the Zuñi school and agency are situated. Aside from the fact that no considerable ruins are to be found in that vicinity to account for the presence of a pueblo within the historic period, the etymology is unsound, for the Zuñi call Black Rocks *Akwinkwin* (a for *áalē*, pl. *áwē*, stone, rock; *kwin*, black; *kwin*, the locative), not *Akinnsa* or *Appkinnsa*. See note 10.

4 — HALONA

On the south bank of the Zuñi river directly opposite the present Zuñi; indeed it is said that Halona stood on both sides of the stream, a belief made plausible because extensive excavations at the site by Cushing in 1888 revealed no evidences of the Franciscan church on the south side. Much of the site is now covered by buildings of a trading-store and several Zuñi dwellings. At the time of its abandonment in 1680 the population of Halona was 1500, according to Vetancurt, but this probably included Matsaki and Kiakima, which were *aldeas de visita* of the Halona mission.

Aconagua. - Gallegos (1582) quoted by Mecham, op. cit., p. 287. (An evident attempt to record the Zuñi form Halonawa. The *c* is doubtless a miscopying of *l*.)

Alona. - Luxán (1582), *Entrada*, f. 83.

Oloná - Luxán as quoted by Bolton, op. cit., p. 184.

Oloná. - Luxán as quoted by Mecham, op. cit., p. 286.

Alona. - Obregón (1584), op. cit., p. 293.

Macilona. - Ibid., p. 19. (An erroneous fusion of *ma*, belonging to the preceding name (*Caquema* for Kiakima) and *cilona*, misprint of *Alona*. See Note 6.)

Cilona. - See *Macilona*, next preceding.

Halonagu. - Oñate (1598) in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, 133, 1871. (An attempt to record Halonawa or Halonawan.)

Aloná - Sigüenza y Góngora (1693), *Mercurio Volante*, p. 18, repr. Mexico, 1900.

Concepcion de Alona. - Vetancurt (1697), *Menologia*, 275 repr. Mexico, 1871. (In his *Crónica* Vetancurt mentions La Concepcion de Aguico and refers to the Halona church as dedicated to la Purificación de la Virgen.)

Purísima Concepción de Alona. - Sariñana y Cuenca, Oración Funebre, Mexico, 1681, repr. *Hist. Soc. New Mexico*, Bull. 7, 1906.

It will be noted that in recording the names of Halona and Hawikuh the Spaniards generally disregarded the faintly aspirated initial.

5 — KWAKINA

This pueblo was situated six or seven miles down the Zuñi river from the present Zuñi, on its northern side. The natives assert that it was of comparatively recent occupancy, but no archaeological research has been conducted at the site. Kwakina is not mentioned by Gallegos, unless inadvertently omitted from the list in Mr. Mecham's paper;¹⁰ but Luxán records its name, as likewise does Oñate a few years later.

Coaguima. - Gallegos (?) quoted by Mecham, op. cit., p. 287.

Quaquina. - Luxán (1582), *Entrada*, f. 83.

Cuaquina. - Luxán as quoted by Bolton, op. cit.

Cuaguima. - Luxán as quoted by Mecham, op. cit. (Misprint.)

Quequina. - Obregón (1584), *Historia*, pp. 19, 293.

Coaqueria. - Oñate (1598) in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, 133, 1871. (The letters *eri* are doubtless a misprint of *in*.)

6 — KECHIPAUAN

This is the name applied by the Zuñi to a ruined pueblo on a mesa forming the northern wall of the little Ojo Caliente valley in which is the farming village of K'yápkwainakwin, commonly know as Ojo Caliente. It was situated about three miles in an air-line eastward from Hawikuh. The site is a very ancient one, but excavations have shown

10. Judging by Mr. Mecham's endeavor to identify and locate all the pueblos mentioned by Gallegos, this village was omitted by mistake, as he refers to Coaguima both in the text (p. 287) and on his map, regarding it to be the same as Kiakima. To the Spaniards Kiakima and Kwakina sounded much alike, yet it will be noted that they distinguished the determining *m* and *n* respectively in the last syllable of the names.

that a later and much smaller pueblo was built on the remains of the older town; moreover, the walls of a well-built stone church are still standing several feet in height. This fact, together with the character of the native earthenware and the finding of objects of European provenience in the later houses and graves, prove its recency beyond question. The term *kéchipa* signifies gypsum, and the village was so named because of the gypsum-like appearance of the sandstone eminence on which the ruins lie. The name of the *locality*, Kyanawe or Kyanawa, which has allusion to its water supply, was applied by the Spaniards to the pueblo which the Zuñi invariably call Kechipauan, whence Cana, Canabi, etc., of the chroniclers.¹¹

Acana. - Gallegos (1582) quoted by Mecham, op cit., p. 286.

Cana. - Luxán (1582), *Entrada*, f. 83. (This spelling is followed by Bolton and Mecham.)

Cocana. - Obregón (1584), *Historia*, p. 19. (Erroneous fusion of *Co*, belonging to the preceding name *Acin*, for *Acui* [See Hawikuh], plus *Cana*.)

Canabi. - Oñate (1598) in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, 133, 1871.

Acincocana. - Obregón, op. cit., p. 293. (*Acinco*, for *Acuico*, plus *Cana*.)

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation,
Broadway at 155th St.,
New York, N. Y.

11. See Hodge, *The Age of the Zuñi Pueblo of Kechipauan*, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, III, no. 2, New York, 1920. Note the omission by the Spaniards of the affix *wa*, often used by the Zuñi in place-names. Another instance is Halona, Halonawa, both of which forms are employed.

NECROLOGY

WASHINGTON E. LINDSEY

Among the eminent figures in New Mexico contemporary life removed by death from the stage of action during the current year, former Governor Washington E. Lindsey was probably the most prominent. As governor of the State during the late war, he had gained a special place in the annals of the commonwealth. His tragic death on April 5th came as a shock to his host of friends and admirers. He had been in ill health and despondent for several months.

Governor Lindsey was born in Belmon County, Ohio, on December 20, 1862. He was the son of Robert W. and Julia A. Shipman Lindsey. After attendance in the public schools of his native county, he matriculated in the University of Michigan and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1891 receiving the additional degree of Bachelor of Laws. For nine years he was engaged in the practice of law in Chicago, but in the year 1900 moved to Roswell, and a few years later to Portales, where he established a law office and took an active part in developing that part of New Mexico. He was president of the Portales Townsite Company, as well as of the Portales Irrigation Company. It was through his efforts in 1902 that the territorial legislature established Roosevelt County.

As an active and aggressive Republican, he took part in politics and was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention. In November, 1916 he was elected lieutenant governor, and upon the death of Governor Ezequiel C. de Baca he succeeded to the executive office in February of 1917. On May 1, 1917, he called a special session of the legislature which placed New Mexico on war footing. With unwavering patriotism, he put his heart into every mea-

sure that placed New Mexico high in the rank of states that contributed to the winning of the war.

Upon retiring from the governorship, he opened a law office in Albuquerque, but later returned to Portales, where his wife, who had been an invalid for years, died a few years ago. She was Miss Amanda C. Houghton, and their marriage took place in October, 1891. There were three children, Howard W., Helen M., and Michael R. Lindsey. Some months before his death, he married Miss Becker of Albuquerque, who survives him. Governor Lindsey was a Congregationalist, and a member of the Knights of Pythias, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and the Woodmen of the World. While a resident of Santa Fe and afterward, he took a keen interest in the New Mexico Historical Society, and was a particular friend of the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research.

COLONEL EUGENE VAN PATTEN

On February 28, at the ripe age of 89 years, Colonel Eugene Van Patten departed this life at the home of his daughter Amelia Ascarate in the Mesilla Valley. One of the pioneers of that section of the state, he was a stage driver and Indian fighter in the early days. He was born in Rome, New York, on November 10, 1839, the son of Adam Van Patten and Nancy Adams, uniting Dutch and New England ancestry. In early youth he located at Utica, New York, and thence moved to El Paso in 1859, where he was employed as stage driver on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route. During the Civil War he enlisted with the Confederates, holding a commission under Stonewall Jackson. He also gained fame as an Indian fighter.

While Doña Ana County still extended across the entire southern part of New Mexico, he served as sheriff. Later he became registrar of the Federal Land Office at Las Cruces, deputy United States marshal, and a colonel in the New Mexico National Guard. Among his choicest recollections were two years spent on a trip around the world

with his uncle, Admiral Bushnell Stevens, and then two years at West Point Military Academy.

Colonel Van Patten was a public spirited citizen. He was of much assistance in having the A. T. & S. F. Railroad construct its line from Albuquerque to El Paso. He raised funds for the building of the Loretto Academy at Las Cruces. The Indians of that section esteemed him highly, and he secured a grant of land for the pueblo of Tortugas. While Lew Wallace was governor of New Mexico, he was one of the political advisers of the executive. During the Spanish-American War, he was of much assistance to his friend, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, in organizing the Rough Riders. Colonel Van Patten was the owner of Dripping Springs in the Organ Mountains, a noted resort in which he took much pride.

His funeral took place from St. Genevieve's Catholic Church in Las Cruces, the 120th Engineers stationed at that place giving him military honors. The pall bearers were: Fabian Garcia, C. O. Bennett, Jesus Garcia, Henry Stoes, A. J. Fountain, Sr., and Colonel M. C. O'Hara.

MALAQUIAS MARTINEZ

Another member of the convention that formulated the constitution of the State of New Mexico, Malaquias Martinez, died at St. Vincent's Hospital, Santa Fe, on August 15, as the result of an automobile accident while on his way to the Republican State Convention at Albuquerque. He was the son of Santiago Valdez Martinez, prominent as legislator and political leader in the 70's of the last century, who resided in Mora from 1878 to 1884, and who died in Taos in 1888.

Malaquias Martinez was born at Taos, on December 15, 1860, but his parents took him to Mora, where he resided until 1890, when he returned to Taos. In 1882 he was married to Miss Juanita Chaves, with whom he had one son, Juan F. Martinez. In 1889 he married Emily Blatt-

man. Mr. Martinez was a member of the Knights of Pythias, and the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. For twenty-five years he was chairman of the Territorial and State Republican Committee for Taos County. He served two terms as deputy assessor, and as superintendent of schools in 1894 and 1895. His legislative career began in 1897, when he was elected to the House of the Territorial Assembly, and from 1899 to 1907 he represented the counties of Taos, San Juan, and Rio Arriba, in the Territorial Senate. In the latter year he was elected senator from Mora and Taos Counties. In 1910 he served as a member of the Constitutional Convention. In 1915 he resumed legislative duties as a member from Taos County. Among the different offices he held was that of coal oil inspector for the Territory in 1907. He was candidate for lieutenant governor on the Republican ticket in the first state election. He also served as member of the Board of Penitentiary Commissioners and the Cattle Sanitary Board. He was secretary of the Commission for the Revision of Laws during Governor Otero's administration. Mr. Martinez was an eloquent speaker, was zealous in guarding the interests of the Spanish-American people, and yet broad minded and statesman-like in his view of political questions and of legislative problems.

JUDGE A. A. FREEMAN

Judge A. A. Freeman, prominent in territorial affairs, died at Vancouver, British Columbia, at a ripe old age. He had been prominent as a lawyer and politician in Tennessee, and came to New Mexico commissioned as associate justice of the Supreme Court by President Harrison. For four years he held a place on the supreme bench, and upon retirement, resumed the practice of law at Socorro, where he had presided as judge. Later he located at Carlsbad in Eddy County, where he took an active interest in civic matters. In 1908 he went to the state of Washington, and from there to Vancouver, but kept in touch with New

Mexico affairs, occasionally contributing to the press some comment upon the trend of politics.

DR. NATHAN BOYD

For many years a prominent citizen of Las Cruces, Dr. Nathan Boyd was the pioneer in planning the Elephant Butte Irrigation Project. He had organized a British corporation to build the dam, which later was constructed by the United States Reclamation Service. He exhausted his resources in the litigation that followed upon his efforts to build the irrigation system. He was fought from court to court by the United States, which sought to establish that the Rio Grande was a navigable stream. In later years Dr. Boyd was vindicated by the United States itself building the dam and completing the irrigation system. Only recently Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work lifted the embargo on the waters of the Rio Grande, which had been part of the reclamation policy, a further indication that Dr. Boyd was correct in his contentions. Dr. Boyd at one time had planned a large sanatorium for sufferers from tuberculosis, and had hoped to establish it at Dripping Springs near Las Cruces. He was interested in others public spirited projects for southern New Mexico, but upon the adverse decisions of the courts in the Elephant Butte litigation, he removed to Washington, D. C. Two sons and a daughter survive him.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

DOWN THE SANTA FE TRAIL AND INTO MEXICO, 1846-1847. Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin. Edited by Stella M. Drumm. (Yale University Press, 1926. Pp. xxv, 294; ill; \$4.00)

To a reviewer whose office is in the old "Palace of the Governors" at the western end of the old Santa Fe Trail, the title of this book is instantly arresting; nor are his anticipations disappointed as he turns the pages. The diary is that of a young gentlewoman, the eighteen year old bride of Samuel Magoffin, whose brother James was the efficient advance emissary of the American Army of Occupation. The reader's interest is instantly caught and held thruout by the intimate details of camp life, by the descriptions of the road, the prairies, the buffalo, antelope and other forms of life, terrific storms, toilsome mountain-passes, and "slippy" river-crossings. He is constantly being given enlightening glimpses of traders, teamsters, soldiers, officers, Indians of plain and pueblo, the native people both of the humble and well-to-do classes; and such glimpses are often charmingly enhanced by a naive word or phrase. Says the author, for example, "It is disagreeable to hear so much swearing; the animals are unruly 'tis true and worries the patience of their drivers, but I scarcely think they need be so profane." (p. 3) And while travelling on the lower Rio Grande where the mesquite growth was thick, she decides to be "rather careful in walking out. The Indian is a wily man, and one cannot be too precausious when in his territory." (p. 202)

The editor, as librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, has had the use of valuable sources, as shown by the bibliography. As a result she has given the book an excellent introduction and very informative annotations.

Thru the text and notes, men like the Magoffins, Connelly, Waldo, Kearny, Taylor, and many of their officers pass before us as in no previous book on the Southwest.

Occasionally a Spanish phrase or word might have been more happily translated. *Mui cerquita de los carros* means "very near the wagons" (p. 200); *tata* is a familiar word for "father." (p. 212) "San Juan" (p. 260) might have had in brackets *zaguan* (entrance hall). And the latter part of note 36 (pp. 99-100) is based entirely on the vagaries of early writers. Pecos is today a chief point of interest on the National Old Trails Highway and the facts about it may be found in various books and monographs.

The date "1842" in note 71 (p. 170) is an error, possibly in proofreading. Also exception might be taken to the spelling of various Spanish names, as "Arrillaga" (p. 127). But these are mere pecadillos when considering the book as a whole. Simply as a book of travel, Miss Drumm has done a delightful service; as a book on the Southwest this diary will rank with Gregg's classic, "The Commerce of the Prairies."

L. B. B.

HISTORICAL PAGEANTRY AT SANTA FE FIESTA

The Santa Fe Fiesta was again made notable by its pageantry, which passed in review most graphically the leading episodes from the earliest times to those of the American Occupation. Mr. F. S. Curtis, Jr., a member of the Historical Society, gave his talent not only to writing the scenarios for the historic episodes, but in personally supervising their production. In addition to the episodes, of the year before, there was added an act presenting the coming of man to the southwest. This was one of the most spectacular features of the pageantry. Very fine also was the act in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the coming of Kit Carson to Santa Fe, and of the advent of Jedediah Smith in California.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

The latest issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* features a contribution by Edgar A. Holt, superintendent of schools in Iowa City, Iowa. Mr. Holt's theme is "Missouri River Transportation in the Expansion of the Southwest." Missouri River steamboat navigation reached its height in 1858, and was closely connected with traffic over the Santa Fe Trail. Mrs. W. R. Painter reviews some of the achievements of the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution, who now have a membership of more than 5,000 in that state. Among the achievements described are those of locating and marking the old Santa Fe Trail, including El Camino Real, the oldest public road in Missouri. "Western Missouri in 1837," includes correspondence that goes back to 1837, and throws an interesting sidelight on conditions in the west in those days. Speaking of the fertility of the soil, it is reported in the letter: "A man and one horse can easily tend twenty acres of corn, for which he receives in the fall 1000 bushels, or if he sow the field to wheat, it would be but a common crop to receive in return 600 bushels. . . . We have 1000 bearing fruit trees. It is likely there will not be less than 3000 bushels of apples realized from them this year. Fruit trees do remarkably well. Stock does well without feeding, even in the coldest winters we have had." "The Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians" in this issue deal with Frank P. Blair, while "The Little Visits with Literary Missourians," include a sketch of Augustus Thomas. "The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri," in which Carl Schurz figured so prominently, is probably the most important contribution in this number.

THE COLORADO MAGAZINE

Of special interest in the *Colorado Magazine*, published by the State Museum at Denver, Colorado, is a historical

sketch of the San Luis Valley from 1850 to 1861. Former Governor Oliver H. Shoup reviews "Fifty years of Colorado's Development." Albert B. Sanford has a sketch of John L. Routt, First State Governor of the neighboring commonwealth. Steps to Statehood in Colorado, Views on the Admission of Colorado in 1876, and the Statehood Celebration of 1876, recall that the centennial state is this year celebrating the semi-centennial of its admission into the Union.

CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

"Some Legends of Oklahoma" are retold by Walter R. Smith in a late issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, the quarterly of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Thrilling is the story of a raid by the Comanches and their pursuit by the Chickasaws in 1865. The story of this expedition has never before been told in print, according to the author, and the facts that are told are therefore an important contribution to western history. "Gleanings from the By-Ways of Oklahoma Folk-Lore" and "A Choctaw Indian's Diary" are other interesting contributions.

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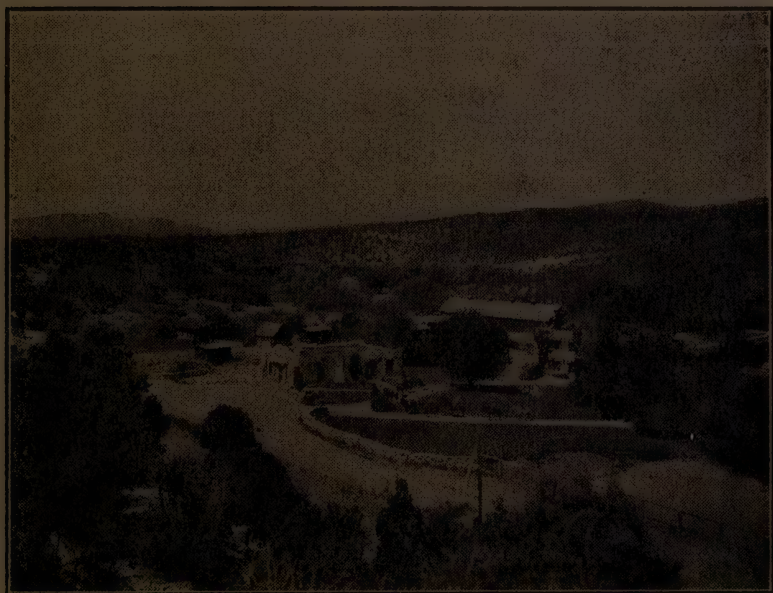
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